



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 07136865 2

CX

ROYAL

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

VOLUME THE SIXTH. ✓

1874-75. ✓

London:

PUBLISHED BY THE INSTITUTE

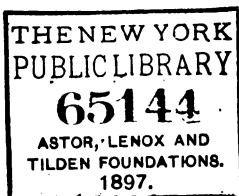
15, STRAND, W.C.

1875.

(The rights of Publication and Translation are reserved.)

Digitized by

Revised
62985
C7



The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute are not responsible in any way for the opinions expressed by the Authors of the several Papers inserted in this volume.

Members on changing their addresses are particularly requested to notify the change to the Honorary Secretary, in order that delay in forwarding the transactions and other communications may be avoided as much as possible.

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Honorary Secretary.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

15, Strand, W.C.

July, 1875.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

ROOMS: 15, STRAND, W.C.

COUNCIL OF 1875-76

PRESIDENT.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE CHRISTIAN, K.G.
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CARNARVON.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF GRANVILLE, K.G.
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BURY, K.C.M.G.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD CARLINGFORD.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BART., C.B., M.P.
THE RIGHT HON. GATHORNE HARDY, M.P.
THE RIGHT HON. STEPHEN CAVE, M.P.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD LISGAR, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT MONCK, G.C.M.G.
EDWARD WILSON, ESQ.

COUNCILLORS.

CHARLES BARTER, Esq.	SIR GEO. MACLEAY, K.C.M.G.
HENRY BLAINE, Esq.	GISBORNE MOLINEUX, Esq.
SIR CHARLES CLIFFORD	JACOB MONTEFIORE, Esq.
MAJOR-GEN. SIR H. C. B. DAUBENEY,	H. E. MONTGOMERIE, Esq.
K.C.B.	SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.
F. S. DUTTON, Esq., C.M.G.	ALEXANDER RIVINGTON, Esq.
H. W. FREELAND, Esq.	A. B. ROCHE, Esq.
R. G. HALIBURTON, Esq.	S. W. SILVER, Esq.
A. B. CAMPBELL JOHNSTON, Esq.	SIR R. R. TORRENS, K.C.M.G.
H. J. JOURDAIN, Esq.	WILLIAM WALKER, Esq.
F. P. LABILLIÈRE, Esq.	SIR C. WINGFIELD, K.C.S.I., C.B.
SIR RICHARD GRAVES MACDONNELL,	LEONARD WRAY, Esq.
K.C.M.G., C.B.	JAMES A. YOUL, Esq., C.M.G.

TRUSTEES.

SIR JOHN ROSE, BART., K.C.M.G. | HON. ARTHUR KINNAIRD, M.P.

JAMES SEARIGHT, Esq.

HON. TREASURER.

W. C. SARGEANT, Esq., C.M.G.

HON. SECRETARY.

FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.

TABLE OF CONTENTS,

1874-75.

	PAGE
Council of 1875-76	iii
List of Fellows	vii
Memoir of the late C. W. Eddy, Esq.	1
Ordinary General Meeting: What are the best Means of drawing together the Interests of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and of strengthening the Bonds of Union. By the late C. W. Eddy, Esq. . .	3 ✓
Ordinary General Meeting: The Permanent Unity of the Empire. By F. P. Labillière, Esq.	36 ✓
Ordinary General Meeting: Fiji, Past and Present. By F. W. Chesson, Esq.	86
Ordinary General Meeting: Great Britain and New Guinea. By A. Michie, Esq., Agent-General for Victoria	120
Ordinary General Meeting: South Africa. By T. B. Glanville, Esq., late M.L.A. of the Cape of Good Hope	185
New Guinea Deputation.. .. .	189
Ordinary General Meeting: American Protection and Canadian Re- ciprocity. By R. G. Haliburton, Esq.	205 ✓
Ordinary General Meeting: Forty Years Since, and Now. By H. B. T. Strangways, late Attorney-General of South Australia	228 ✓
Conversations	256
Annual General Meeting	262
General Index	269

1720

1721 1722 1723 1724 1725 1726 1727 1728 1729 1730

1731 1732 1733 1734 1735 1736 1737 1738 1739 1740

1741 1742 1743 1744 1745 1746 1747 1748 1749 1750

1751 1752 1753 1754 1755 1756 1757 1758 1759 1760

1761 1762 1763 1764 1765 1766 1767 1768 1769 1770

1771 1772 1773 1774 1775 1776 1777 1778 1779 1780

1781 1782 1783 1784 1785 1786 1787 1788 1789 1790

1791 1792 1793 1794 1795 1796 1797 1798 1799 1800

1801 1802 1803 1804 1805 1806 1807 1808 1809 1810

1811 1812 1813 1814 1815 1816 1817 1818 1819 1820

1821 1822 1823 1824 1825 1826 1827 1828 1829 1830

1831 1832 1833 1834 1835 1836 1837 1838 1839 1840

1841 1842 1843 1844 1845 1846 1847 1848 1849 1850

1851 1852 1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858 1859 1860

1861 1862 1863 1864 1865 1866 1867 1868 1869 1870

1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880

1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890

1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900

1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1908 1909 1910

1911 1912 1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920

1921 1922 1923 1924 1925 1926 1927 1928 1929 1930

LIST OF FELLOWS.

(Those marked * are Honorary Fellows.)

RESIDENT FELLOWS.

- ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
ACTON, ROGER, 11, Crescent Place, Mornington Crescent, N.W.
ADDERLEY, AUGUSTUS J., 8, Porchester Gate, W.
ADLER, J. H., 79, Coleman Street, E.C.
AIRLIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Airlie Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W., and Brookes' Club, S.W.
ALCOCK, COLONEL T. ST. L., 89, Green Street, Grosvenor Square, W.
ANDERSON, WILLIAM MATHER, Oriental Bank, 40, Threadneedle Street, E.C.
ARBUTHNOT, MAJOR, R.A., Carlton Club, S.W.
ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., Argyll Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.
ASHLEY, HON. EVELYN, M.P., 61, Cadogan Place, S.W., and 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
ATKINSON, CHARLES E., 14, Addison Crescent, Kensington, W.
AULD, PATRICK, Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill Street, Hanover Square, W.
BADENOCH, REV. DR. G. R., Clarence Chambers, 12, Haymarket, S.W.
BANNER, EDWARD G., 11, Billiter Square, E.C.
BARCLAY, SIR DAVID W., Bt., 42, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
BARR, E.G., 76, Holland Park, W.
BARTER, CHARLES, 85, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
BEDINGFIELD, FELIX, C.M.G., 86, Green Street, Grosvenor Square, W.

- BEER, JULIUS, 28, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W.
BELL, WM. MOORE, Bolton Hall, near Wigton, Cumberland.
BENJAMIN, LOUIS ALFRED, 65, Russell Square, W.C.
BENNETT, C. F., 55, Queen's Square, Bristol.
BERGTHEIL, J., 88, Warwick Road, Maida Hill, W.
BLACHFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.M.G., Athenæum Club,
S.W., and Blachford, Ivybridge, Devon.
BLAINE, D. P., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
BLAINE, HENRY, 2, Cleveland Road, Castle Hill, Ealing, W.
BONWICK, JAMES (care of Mr. Beddow), 22, South Audley Street, W.
BOOTH, EDWIN CARTON, 55, Parliament Street, S.W.
BOURA, F. W.
BOURNE, C. W., Eagle House, Eltham, S.E.
BOUTCHER, EMANUEL, 12, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
BRAND, WILLIAM, 109, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
BRIGGS, THOMAS, Homestead, Richmond, Surrey.
BROAD, CHARLES HENRY, Castle View, Weybridge, Surrey.
BROGDEN, JAMES, Coedriglan, near Cardiff.
BROWN, J. B., 90, Cannon Street, E.C.
BUCHANAN, DR. A., M.D., 48, Eastbourne Terrace, W.
BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, Chandos House,
Cavendish Square, W.
BURGESS, EDWARD J., 29, Palmerston Buildings, E.C.
BURTON, W. H., Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill Street, Hanover
Square, W.
BURY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G., 65, Prince's Gate,
S.W.
BUTTERWORTH, ROBERT L., 70, Basinghall Street, E.C.
BYL, P. G. VANDER (Consul-General for the Orange Free State
Republic), 102, Harley Street, W.

CAMPBELL, DONALD, Christchurch College, Oxford.
CAMPBELL, ROBERT, Union Bank of Australasia, Prince's Street, E.C.
and Buscot Park, Gloucestershire.
CARDWELL, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 74, Eaton Square, S.W.
CARLINGFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, 7, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
CARNARVON, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Colonial Office, S.W.
CARPENTER, MAJOR C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
CAVE, THE RIGHT HON. STEPHEN, M.P., 35, Wilton Place, S.W.
CHALLIS, J. H., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
CHESSON, F. W., 8, Lambeth Terrace, S.E., and Canadian Govern-
ment Buildings, King Street, Westminster, S.W.
CHILDERS, THE RIGHT HON. HUGH, M.P., 17, Prince's Gardens, S.W.

- CHOWN, T. C., 29, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, and Thatched House Club, S.W.
- CHRISTIAN, H.R.H., THE PRINCE, K.G., Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park.
- CHURCHILL, LORD ALFRED SPENCER, 16, Rutland Gate, S.W.
- CLARK, CHARLES, 20, Belmont Park, Lee, Kent.
- CLARK, HYDE, D.C.L., 32, St. George's Square, S.W.
- CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES, Hatherton Hall, Cannock, Staffordshire.
- CLOETE, WOODBINE, 122, Cannon Street, E.C., and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.
- COCHRANE, A. BAILLIE, M.P., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W.
- COLE, MAJOR-GENERAL J. AMBER (late 15th Foot), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- COLOMB, CAPTAIN J. C. R., Droumquinne, Kenmare, County Kerry, Ireland.
- COLTHURST, J. B., 4, Danes Inn, Strand, W.C.
- COODE, M. P., Cooper's Hill College, Staines.
- COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART., 20, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
- *CORVO, H. E. SUB JOÃO ANDRADA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portugal.
- COSENS, FREDERICK W., 27, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- COX, SLOPER, Guildford Lodge, Loats' Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
- CRAWSHAY, GEORGE, 23, Upper Thames Street, E.C.
- CROLL, ALEXANDER, Mavas Bank, Grange Road, Upper Norwood.
- CROLL, COLONEL ALEXANDER ANGUS, 10, Coleman Street, E.C., and Granard Lodge, Roehampton.
- CURRIE, DONALD, 13, Hyde Park Place, W.
- CUMMING, GEORGE, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
- DAINTREE, RICHARD (Agent-General for Queensland), Queensland Office, 32, Charing Cross.
- DALGETY, F. GONNERMAN, 16, Hyde Park Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- DANGAR, W. J. (care of Messrs. Dangar, Grant, and Co.), 5, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- DAUBENEY, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. B., K.C.B., 36, Elvaston Place, S.W.
- DAVIS, STEUART S., 52, Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, W.C.
- DOMVILLE, COLONEL J. W., R.A., Rushgrove House, Woolwich, S.E.
- DONNELLY NICHOLAS (care of J. Farmer, Esq.), 22, Basinghall St., E.C.
- DOUGLAS, STEWART, 5, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, S.W.
- DRUMMOND, W. H., 104, St. George's Square, S.W.
- DU CANE, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., 8, Chesterfield Street, Mayfair, W.
- DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL of, 16, Portman Square, W.

- Du Croz, F., 52, Lombard Street, E.C.
- DUDDELL, GEORGE, Queen's Park, Brighton.
- DUFF, WILLIAM, 11, Orsett Terrace, Bayswater, W.
- DUFFIELD, ALEXANDER J., Savile Club, Savile Row, W.
- DUNCAN, MAJOR F., M.A., D.C.L., Royal Artillery, Woolwich.
- DUNCAN, WILLIAM, 83, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- DUPRAT, M. LE VISCOMTE, Consul-General for Portugal, 8, St. Mary
Axe, E.C., and 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.
- DUTTON, F. H., 11, Cromwell Crescent, South Kensington, S.W.
- DUTTON, F. S., C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), 8,
Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
- DUNN, JAMES, 47, Prince's Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- ELCHO, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, M.P., 23, St. James's Place, St.
James's, S.W.
- ELDER, ALEXANDER LANG, Campden House, Kensington, W.
- ELLIOT, ROBERT H., 38, Park Lane, W., and Clifton Park, Kelso,
Roxburghshire, N.B.
- EMLY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Athenæum Club, and Tervoe, Co.
Limerick.
- ENGLEHEART, J. D. G., Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place,
W.C.
- FAIRFAX, T. S., Middle Temple, E.C., and Junior Carlton Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.
- FANNING, WM. BOZEDOWN, Whitechurch, Reading.
- FARMER, JAMES, 6, Porchester Gate, Hyde Park, W.
- FEARON, FREDERICK (Secretary of the Trust and Loan Company of
Canada), 7, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C.
- FEATHERSTONE, DR. (Agent-General for New Zealand), 7, West-
minster Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
- FENN, THOMAS, 14, Bedford Square, W.C.
- FERGUSON, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., K.C.M.G., Carlton
Club, Pall Mall, S.W., and Kilkenan, N.B.
- FILBY, M. B., East Croydon, and Jerusalem Coffee House, E.C.
- FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY, 9, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
- FRANKLIN, SELIM, 48, Albemarle Street, W.
- FREELAND, HUMPHREY W., 16, Suffolk Street, S.W.; Athenæum
Club; and Chichester.
- FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5, Bank Buildings, E.C.
- *FROUDE, J. A., M.A., F.R.S., 5, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- GALTON, CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, C.B., 12, Chester Street, Grosvenor
Place, S.W.

- GAWLER, COLONEL (late 78rd Foot), Tower, E.C.
GILLESPIE, ROBERT, 55, Onslow Square, S.W.
GODSON, GEORGE R., 14, Rutland Gate, S.W.
GOSCHEN, THE RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., 69, Portland Place, W.
GOULD, CHARLES.
GRACE, ALEXANDER, 14, Lillieshall Road, Clapham Common, S.W.
GRAIN, WILLIAM, 31, Threadneedle Street, E.C.
GRANVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G., 18, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
GEEVES, EDWARD, Avonside, Warwick.
GREEN, GEORGE, Glanton House, Sydenham Rise, S.E.
GREGORY, CHARLES HUTTON, 2, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.
GRIEVE, THOMAS K., 48, Jewin Street, Aldersgate Street, E.C.
GWYNNE, FRANK A., Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.

HALIBURTON, R. G., 15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., and National Club, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
HALL, ARTHUR, 85, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
HALL, JOHN, 80, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.
HALL, JOHN F., 79, Cannon Street, E.C.
HAMILTON, ARCHIBALD, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
HAMILTON, ROBERT, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
HARDY, THE RIGHT HON. GATHORNE, M.P., War Office, and 17, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
HARRINGTON, THOMAS MOORE, National Bank of Australasia, 149, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
HARRIS, JOHN M. YELBANA, Anerley Road, Norwood, S.E.
HAUGHTON, JOHN, Manor House, Long Stretton, Norfolk.
HENTY, WILLIAM, 12, Medina Villas, Brighton.
HILL, JOHN S., 82, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
HODGSON, ARTHUR, Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon, and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
HOGG, QUINTIN, 5, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.
HOLLINGS, H. DE B., M.A., 170, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
HOLMS, JOHN, M.P., 16, Cornwall Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
HOSKYNs, CHANDOS WREN, Harewood, near Ross, Herefordshire, and Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
HOUGHTON, LORD, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
HUME, WILLIAM BURNLEY, 124, Harley Street, W.

IRWIN, J. V. H., 4, Boscobel Gardens, Regent's Park, N.W.

JACKSON, JOHN, 87, Lordship Park, N.

JAMIESON, HUGH, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

JAMIESON, T. BUSHBY, Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.

JENKINS, EDWARD, M.P., Agent-General for Canada, Canadian Buildings, King Street, Westminster.

JERVIS, J. CHESTER, 25, Westbourne Park, Bayswater, W., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

JOHNSTON, A. R. CAMPBELL, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Heatherley, near Wokingham, Berks; Athenæum Club; and 84, St. George's Square, S.W.

JONES, SIR WILLOUGHBY, BART., Cranmer Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk.

JOURDAIN, H. J., 54, Gloucester Gardens, W.

JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G. and C.B., 12, Spring Gardens, S.W.

KIMBER, HENRY, 79, Lombard Street, E.C.

KING, HENRY S., 65, Cornhill, E.C.

KINNAIRD, HON. ARTHUR, M.P., 2, Pall Mall East, S.W.

KNIGHT, A. H., 14, Hanover Street, Hanover Square, W.

KNIGHT, WM., 4, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

LABILLIERE, FRANCIS P., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C., and 5, Aldridge Road Villas, W.

LAVINGTON, J. W., 14A, Austin Friars, E.C.

LEVESON, EDWARD, J., 6, Lime Street, E.C.

LEVIN, NATHANIEL, 44, Cleveland Square, W.

LINDSAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL LOYD, V.C., M.P., 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.

LISGAR, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Arthur's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

LITTLETON, HON. HENRY, Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.

* LLOYD, SAMPSON, S., M.P., President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, Birmingham.

LOW, W. ANDERSON, 48, Eastbourne Terrace, W.

LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 15, Lombard Street, E.C.

LYONS, GEORGE, M.A., 66, Old Broad Street, E.C.

MACARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P., Raleigh Hall, Brixton, S.W.

MACARTHUR, WILLIAM, M.P., 1, Gwydyr Houses, Brixton, S.W.

MACCARTHY, JUSTIN, 48, Gower Street, W.C.

MCDONALD, H.C., 116, Fenchurch Street, E.C.

MACDONNELL, SIR RICHARD GRAVES, K.C.M.G., and C.B., Athenæum Club, and Sorrento House, Co. Dublin, Ireland.

MACEWEN, JOHN T. HOWIE, Old Swan Wharf, E.C., and 3, Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park, W.

MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, 25, Sackville Street, W.

MACFIE, R. A., Reform Club, S.W.; and Dreghorn, Slateford, Edinburgh, N.B.

MAKENZIE, J. H., 41, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.

MACKERRELL, R. M., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

MACKILLOP, C. W., 69, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.

MACKINNON, W., Balmakiel, Clachan, Argyleshire, N.B.

MCLACHLAN, ARCHIBALD, Hatherley Hall, Cheltenham.

MACLEAY, ALEXANDER D., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., Pendell Court, Bletchingley, Surrey.

MACNAB, D. M., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.

MACPHERSON, JOSEPH, 18, Cromwell Place, S.W.

MAITLAND, WILLIAM, 2, Royal Exchange Buildings, E.C.

MANBY, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, 60, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

MANCHESTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, 1, Great Stanhope Street, W., and Kimbolton Castle, St. Neot's.

MARSH, M. H., Ramridge, Andover, Hants.

MARSHMAN, JOHN CLARK, C.S.I., 7, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.

MATTHEWS, WILLIAM, 46, Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

MEREWETHER, F. S. S., Peacocks, Ingatestone, Essex.

MEYER, HERBERT, Amberley, near Stroud, Gloucestershire.

MAYNE, EDWARD GRAVES, M.A., 40, Elgin Road, Dublin.

MILLER, JOHN, Sherbrooke Lodge, Brixton, S.W.

MILLIGAN, DR. JOSEPH, 6, Craven Street, Strand, W.C.

MILTON, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 17, Grosvenor Street, W.

MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, 1, East India Avenue, E.C.

MONCK, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., 14, St. James's Place, S.W.

MONCRIEFF, MAJOR ALEXANDER, F.R.S., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

MONTAGU, J. M. P., Downe Hall, Bridport, Dorset, and 51, St. George's Road, Pimlico, S.W.

MONTEFIORE, JACOB, 1, Oriental Place, Brighton.

MONTGOMERIE, HUGH E., 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.

MOOR, HENRY, Sussex Square, Brighton.

MOORE, WM. FREDK., 5, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 6, The Boltons, South Kensington, W.

MORTLOCK, WM. RANSON, 22, Endsleigh Street, Euston Square, N.W.

MORT, W., 1, Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.

MUIR, HUGH, 82, Lombard Street, E.C.

MUTTLEBURY, JAMES W., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; and 47, Leicester Gardens, W.

NAZ, VIRGILE, C.M.G., 58, Kensington Gardens Square, W.

NELSON, WILLIAM, Edmonscote House, Warwick.

NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., 26, Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.

NORTHCOTE, THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H., BART., C.B., M.P., 86, Harley Street, W.

NORTON, GEORGE, Wyvil's Court, Swallowfield, Reading.

NUTT, R. W., 16, Hyde Park Gate South, S.W.

O'NEILL, JOHN HUGH, Canada Government Buildings, King Street, Westminster, S.W.

OFFENHEIM, HERMANN, 17, Rue de Londres, Paris.

OFFENHEIMER, JOSEPH, Manchester.

OTWAY, ARTHUR JOHN, 19, Cromwell Road, S.W.

PATERSON, J., 15, Coleman Street, E.C.

PATTERSON, MYLES, 28, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.

PERRY, THE RIGHT REV. DR., Bishop of Melbourne, 82, Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

PETER, JOHN, Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

PHILPOTT, RICHARD, 8, Abchurch Lane, E.C.

PIM, CAPTAIN BEDFORD, R.N., M.P., Leaside, Kingswood Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.

POORE, MAJOR R., Old Lodge, Stockbridge, Hants.

POTTER, RICHARD, 21, Old Broad Street, E.C.

PORTER, ROBERT, Oak Hill, Surbiton, Surrey.

FRANCE, REGINALD H., 2, Hercules Passage, E.C., and Frognaal, Hampstead, N.W.

PRATT, J. J., Consul-General, South African Republic, 24, Coleman Street, E.C.

PRINCE, J. SAMPSON, 84, Craven Hill Gardens, W.

PUGH, DR. W. R., M.D., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

PUNSHON, REV. DR. MORLEY, 64, Holland Road, Kensington, W.

PYM, WOLLASTON F., 6A, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

QUIN, THOMAS F., F.R.G.S., Whitelands, High Street, Clapham, S.W.

- RAE, JAMES, 82, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.
 RAE, JOHN, LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.
 RAMAGE, W. W., London and Colorado Co., Winchester Buildings,
 Old Broad Street, E.C.
 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, Camp Hill, Nuneaton, Warwickshire.
 RENNIE, J. T., Aberdeen, and 52, Lime Street, E.C.
 RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, Limber Magna, Ulceby, Lincolnshire.
 RICHMAN, H. J., 46, Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.
 RIDGWAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL A., 2, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
 RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER, 27, Cleveland Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
 ROBINSON, MAJOR CHARLES W., Rifle Brigade, South Camp, Alder-
 shot.
 ROBJOHNS, SYDNEY, Ontario Government Office, Canadian Govern-
 ment Buildings, King Street, Westminster, S.W., and 4, Lady
 Somerset Road, Junction Road, N.W.
 ROCHE, ALFRED R., 81, Palmerston Buildings, E.C.
 ROLPH, LAWFORD, New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 ROSE, SIR JOHN, BART., K.C.M.G., Bartholomew House, Bartholo-
 mew Lane, E.C., and 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.
 ROSS, HAMILTON, Lane's Hotel, St. Albans Place, S.W.
 RUSSELL, G. GREY, Belgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
 RUSSELL, THOMAS, 12, Leinster Gardens, Bayswater, W.
 RUTLEDGE, WILLIAM, 12, Hanover Street, Hanover Square, W.
 ST. JEAN, M. LE VISCOMTE ERNEST DE SATJÉ, Junior Athenæum
 Club, Piccadilly, W., and Malvern Wells, Worcestershire.
 SANDERSON, JOHN, Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.
 SARGEANT, W. C., C.M.G., 12, Spring Gardens, S.W.
 SASSOON, ARTHUR, 12, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, S.W.
 SCHWARTZ, HELMUTH, Osnabruck House, Denmark Hill, S.E.
 SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 12, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
 SEARIGHT, JAMES, 7, East India Avenue, E.C.
 SEROCOLD, G. PEARCE, Rodborough Lodge, Stroud, Gloucestershire.
 SEWELL, HENRY, Oakhurst, Lower Norwood, S.E.
 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., 10, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.
 SILVER, S. W., 4, Sun Court, Cornhill, E.C.
 SIMMONDS, P. L., 29, Cheapside, E.C.
 SMITH, W. H., M.P., The Greenlands, Henley-on-Thames, and 2,
 Hyde Park Street, W.
 SOPER, W. G., 14, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 SPENCE, J. BERGER, F.R.G.S., &c., Erlington House, Whalley
 Range, Manchester.
 SPICER, JAMES, 50, Upper Thames Street, E.C.

- STEIN, ANDREW, Protea House, Cambridge Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
SPOWERS, ALLAN, 83, Queensboro' Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
STANFORD, EDWARD, 55, Charing Cross, S.W.
STEPHENS, WILLIAM, 8, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W.
STEVENS, JAMES, Beech Hill, Erdington, near Birmingham.
STEVENSON, L. C., Hall Place, Bexley.
STIRLING, SIR CHARLES, BART., Glorat, Milton of Campsie, Stirling-shire, N.B., and Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
STOVIN, REV. C. F., 59, Warwick Square, S.W.
SUTTON, HON. GRAHAM MANNERS, Arthur's Club, St. James's St., S.W.
SWALE, REV. H. J., M.A., J.P., The Elms, Guildford, Surrey.
SWANZY, ANDREW, 122, Cannon Street, E.C., and Sevenoaks, Kent.
SYNGE, MAJOR-GENERAL MILLINGTON, R.E., Old Hall, Southborough, Kent.
STRANGWAYS, H. B. T., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
- TAIT, SIR PETER, Southwark Street, S.E.
* TENNYSON, ALFRED, D.C.L., 16, Albert Mansions, S.W.
THOMPSON, J. D., St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
TIDMAN, PAUL FREDERICK, 84, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
TINLINE, GEORGE, 17, Prince's Square, Hyde Park, W.
TOOTH, FREDERICK, The Briars, Reigate, Surrey.
TORRENS, SIR ROBERT, K.C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
TRIMMER, EDMUND, 75, Cambridge Terrace, W., and 41, Botolph Lane, E.C.
- UNNA, FERDINAND, 12, Lancaster Gate, and 1, Coleman Street Buildings, Moorgate Street, E.C.
- WALKER, EDWARD, 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
WALKER, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., and C.B., The Cherry Orchard, Abergavenny, Monm.
WALKER, WM., F.R.G.S., 48, Hildrop Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
WATSON, PETER, 79, Old Broad Street, E.C., and Sutton House, Hounslow.
WATTS, HENRY E., Marlborough Chambers, 49, Pall Mall, S.W.
WEATHERLEY, CAPTAIN F. A. (late 6th Dragoon Guards), 16, Lewes Crescent, Brighton.
WEBB, WILLIAM, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham.
WELLINGS, HENRY, New Travellers' Club, George Street, Hanover Square.
WESTERN, CHARLES R., 96, Inverness Terrace, W.

- WESTGARTH, WILLIAM, St. Andrew's House, Change Alley, E.C.,
and 10, Bolton Gardens, S.W.
- WHITE, ROBERT, Riche's Court, Lime Street, E.C.
- WIGGINS, FREDERICK A., 9, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- WILLS, GEORGE, White Hall, Hornsey Lane, N., and 26, Budge
Row, E.C.
- WILLIAMS, W. J., Clarence Club, 1, Regent Street, S.W.
- WILLIAMSON, GEORGE, 2, East India Avenue, E.C.
- WILSON, EDWARD, Hayes, Kent.
- WINGFIELD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., C.B., 31, Park Street, Grosvenor
Square, W.
- WINGROVE, E. W., South End House, Twickenham.
- WINGROVE, R. P., 24, Abbey Place, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- WOLFEN, AUGUSTUS, 8, Philpot Lane, E.C.
- WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., M.P., 44, Park Lane, W.,
and Boscombe Tower, Ringwood, Hants.
- WOOD, F. A., Willesden, N.
- WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
- WRAY, LEONARD, Eagle Lodge, Ramsgate, and Lonsdale House,
Fulham, S.W.
- YARDLEY, S., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
- YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G., Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W.
- YOUNG, ADOLPHUS W., M.P., 126, Mount Street, W., Reform Club,
S.W., and Hare Hatch House, Twyford, Berks.
- YOUNG, FREDERICK, 5, Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.

NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

ARBOTT, HON. J. J. C., Q.C., Montreal, Canada.

ALBERGA, D. J.

ALLAN, THE HON. G. W., Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.

ALLAN, SIR HUGH, Montreal, Canada.

ANDERSON, DICKSON, Montreal, Canada.

ANDERSON, W. J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

ARCHER, A., Queensland.

ARMITAGE, GEORGE, Victoria, Australia.

ARNOT, DAVID, Eskdale, Griqualand West, Cape of Good Hope.

BARBER, A. H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.

BAM, J. A., M.H.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

BARRY, HIS HONOUR MR. JUSTICE, Griqualand West.

BEERE, D. M., New Zealand.

BENSUSAN, RALPH, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

BERKELEY, T. B. H., M.L.A., St. Kitt's.

BIRCH, A. N., Straits Settlements.

BIRCH, W. J., Lake Taupo, and Napier Club, Napier, New Zealand.

BIRCH, W. J. (JUN.), Lake Taupo, New Zealand.

BLACK, ROBERT, Natal, South Africa.

BLYTH, CAPTAIN, Transkeian Territory, South Africa.

BOURINOT, HON. J., Ottawa, Canada.

BOURINOT, J. G., Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.

BOWEN, EDWARD, Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada.

BOYD, JAMES, Hobart Town, Tasmania.

BRADSTREET, ROBERT, Natal, South Africa.

BREEKS, J. W., Commissioner, Ootacamund, Madras.

BRIDGE, H. H., Hawkes' Bay, New Zealand.

BRODRIBB, W. A., Brookley, near Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.

BRODRIBB, W. A. (JUN.), Cape of Good Hope.

BROUGHTON, FREDERICK, Great Western Railway of Canada, Hamilton, Ontario.

BROUGHTON, J., Quinologist, Ootacamund, Madras.

BROWN, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Queenstown, Cape of Good Hope.

BROWN, THE HON. THOMAS, Bathurst, River Gambia, West Africa.

BULWEB, SIR HENRY ERNEST LYTTON, K.C.M.G., Governor of Natal.

BURKE, SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, Assistant Attorney-General, Jamaica.

BURNS, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

BUTLER, MAJOR W. F., C.B. (late 69th Regiment).

BUTTON, EDWARD, Transvaal Republic, South Africa (care of S. B.

Garrard, Esq., 57, Westbourne Grove, W.)

- CAMPBELL, A. H., Toronto, Canada.
CAMPBELL, HON. C. J., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
CAMPBELL, CHARLES J., Toronto, Canada.
CAMPBELL, W. H., LL.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
CARON, ADOLPHE P., M.P.P., Quebec, Canada.
CATTANACH, A. J., Toronto, Canada.
CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND (Political Agent for Native Princes).
CHARNOCK, J. H., Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.
CHASE, HON. J. CENTLIVRES, M.L.C., Cape of Good Hope.
CHIAPPINI, DR., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
CLARK, COL. SIR ANDREW, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., Commissioner of
Public Works, Calcutta, India.
CLEGG, THOMAS, West Coast of Africa.
COLLIER, CHARLES FREDERICK, Barrister-at-Law, Tasmania.
CORNWALL, CLEMENT FRANCIS, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
CORNWALL, HENRY, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
CRAUFORD, CAPTAIN F., R.N., River Plate, Brazil.
CROOKES, HON. ADAM, Q.C., LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
CUMBERLAND, COLONEL FREDERICK W., Toronto, Canada.
CURRIE, JAMES, Mauritius.
CURWEN. REV. ALFRED J.

DAVIS, N. DARNELL, Civil Commandant, Sherboro', West Coast of
Africa.
DAVIS, P. (JUN.), Pietermauritzburgh, Natal.
DAWSON, G. P., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
DE MORNAY, HENRY, Penang, Straits Settlements.
DENNISON, LIEUT.-COLONEL, Deputy-Adjutant-General, Ontario,
Canada.
DE ROUBAIX, HON. P. E., M.L.C., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
DOMVILLE, CAPTAIN JAMES, M.P., St. John's, New Brunswick.
DONTRE, JOSEPH, Q.C., Montreal, Canada.
DOUGLAS, ARTHUR, Hilton, near Grahamstown, Cape of Good Hope.
DOYLE, SIR HENRY W. H., Kt., Chief Justice, Bahamas.
DUFFERIN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., K.C.B., Governor-
General of Canada.
DUNKIN, HON. MR. JUSTICE, County Judge, Eastern Township,
Quebec.

EDGAR, J. D., Toronto, Canada.
EDWARDS, DR. W. A., Mauritius.
ELMSLEY, HENRY, Toronto, Canada.
ERSKINE, MAJOR HON. D.

ESCOMBE, HARRY, Natal, South Africa.

FABIEN, CHARLES, Trinidad, West Indies.

FIFE, G. R., Brisbane, Queensland.

FITZGERALD, CHARLES (late 88th Foot and 1st West India Regiment),
Ottawa, Canada.

FITZHERBERT, HON. WILLIAM, C.M.G., M.H.R., Wellington, New
Zealand.

FLOWERS, JAMES, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

FORSYTH, WILLIAM L., Montreal, Canada.

FRANCIS, HON. J. G., Melbourne, Australia.

GHINN, HENRY, Australia.

GIBBS, S. M., Colran Station, Murumbidgee, New South Wales.

GIDDY, R. W. H., Treasurer-General, Diamond Fields, South
Africa.

GILBERT, JOSEPH TROUNSELL, Hamilton, Bermuda.

GILPIN, EDWARD, M.A., F.R.S., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

GLANVILLE, THOMAS B., Grahamstown, South Africa.

GLOVER, THOMAS, Quebec, Canada.

GOODLIFFE, FRANCIS G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Durban, Natal, South Africa.

GOODRICKE, D. G., Durban, Natal.

GOODRICKE, J. R., Durban, Natal.

GRAHAM, JOHN, Victoria, British Columbia.

HARDY, C. BURTON, Adelaide, South Australia.

HADDON, F. W., Melbourne, Australia.

HELLMUTH, THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC, Lord Bishop of Huron, Norwood
House, London, Canada.

HEATHERINGTON, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

HENDERSON, JOSEPH, Pietermauritzburgh, Natal.

HETT, J. ROLAND, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria,
British Columbia.

HEWAT, CAPTAIN J.

HEWETT, —, Cape of Good Hope.

HIDDINGH, HON. J., M.L.C., Cape of Good Hope.

HIGGINS, D. W., Victoria, British Columbia.

HILL, P. CARTERET, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

HINCKS, CAPTAIN A. S., St. James's Club, Montreal.

HUGEL, ADOLPHE, Midland Railway of Canada, Port Hope, near
Toronto, Canada.

HUGHES, HENRY KENT, Adelaide, South Australia.

HUGHES, W. W., Wallaroo, South Australia.

HULL, HUGH MUNRO, Clerk of Parliament, Hobart Town, Tasmania
(Corresponding Secretary).

HUMAN, J. Z., M.H.A., Cape of Good Hope.

HUNTINGTON, HON. L. S., Montreal, Canada.

HYAMS, ABRAHAM, Golden Spring, Jamaica.

HYDE, CHARLES TONSTAL, Provost Marshal, Barbados.

IRVING, HENRY, T., C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad.

JACKSON, THOMAS WITTER, Chief Magistrate of the Gambia.

JENKINS, H. L., Indian Civil Service.

JETTÉ, L. A., Montreal, Canada.

JOHNSON, MATTHEW TROTTER, Victoria, British Columbia.

JONES, S. TWENTYMAN, Stanmore, Rindebosch, near Cape Town.

JORDAN, HENRY, Tygum, Logan River, Queensland.

KEEFER, SAMUEL C. E., Brooksville, Ontario, Canada.

KELSEY, J. F., Bowen, Port Denison, Queensland.

KER, ROBERT, Auditor-General, Victoria, British Columbia (Corresponding Secretary).

KINGSMILL, JOHN JACHERAU, County Judge, Walkerton, Ontario, Canada.

KINGSMILL, NICOL, Toronto, Canada.

LAURIE, COL. (Staff), Halifax, Nova Scotia.

LEE, P. G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

L'ESTRANGE, CAPTAIN CHAMPAGNI, Nova Scotia.

LEVEY, CHARLES E., Quebec, Canada.

LEVEY, G. COLLINS, Melbourne, Australia.

LONGDEN, JAMES R., C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana.

LOVESY, CONWAY W., Puisne Judge, British Guiana.

LYNN, W. FRANK, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

MACDONALD, A. J., Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.

MACDONALD, MURDO, Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.

MACDOUGALL, HON. WM., C.B., M.P., Quebec, Canada.

MACKENZIE, GEORGE POYNTZ, Toronto, Canada.

McMASTER, ALEXANDER, Waikaurā, Otago, New Zealand.

McMURRAY, J. S., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.

MACNAB, REV. DR., Rector of Darlington, Canada.

MACPHERSON, ALEX., Mauritius.

MACPHERSON, COL. HERBERT, V.C., C.B., Bengal Staff Corps.

- MASON, HENRY SLY-, Victoria, British Columbia.
MAUDE, COLONEL, F.C., V.C., C.B., Royal Artillery, Ontario, Canada.
MELBOURNE, CHARLES SYDNEY DICK, Rockampton, Queensland.
MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, Under Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
MOLTENO, HON. J. C., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
MOODIE, G. P., Member of the Volksraad, Transvaal Republic, South Africa.
MORE, G. MONRO, Standard Bank of British South Africa, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

NAIRN, CHARLES J., Pourerere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
NAIRN, JOHN, Pourerere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
NELSON, FREDERICK, Havelock, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
NICOL, F. A. M.
NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, Toronto, Canada.
NORMANBY, THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, Governor of New Zealand.
NOWLAN, JOHN, M.H.A., Sydney, New South Wales.

O'HALLORAN, J. S., Clanfergeal, South Australia.
OUSELEY, GORE, Indian Civil Service.
OUSELEY, MAJOR RALPH, Bengal Staff Corps.

PAINT, HENRY L., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
PARKES, SIR HARRY, K.C.B., Ambassador at the Court of Japan, Yedo.
PEARCE, BENJAMIN W., Victoria, British Columbia.
PHILIPPO, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Straits Settlements.
PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, Auckland, New Zealand.
PINE, SIR BENJAMIN, K.C.M.G.
POOLE, HENRY, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.
POPE, JOHN, Sydney, New South Wales.
PORTER, W. (late Attorney-General), Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, Montreal, Canada.
PRESTOE, HENRY, Trinidad, West Indies.

RHIND, W. G., Victoria, Australia.
RHODES, J., Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
ROBERTSON, HON. J., M.P., St. John's, New Brunswick.
ROBINSON, CHRISTOPHER, Q.C., Beverley House, Toronto, Canada.

ROBINSON, JOHN, M.L.C., Durban, Natal.

ROGERS, HON. ALEXANDER, M.L.C., Acting Judge, Bombay.

ROWE, SAMUEL, C.M.G., Sierra Leone, West Africa.

RUSDEN, GEORGE W., Clerk of Parliament, Melbourne.

RUSSELL, H. C., Government Astronomer, Sydney, New South Wales.

RUSSELL, LOGAN D. H., M.D., Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.

RUSSELL, PURVIS, Woburn, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.

RUSSELL, ROBERT, LL.B., Barrister, Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.

ST. GEORGE, HENRY Q., Toronto, Canada, and Montpelier, France.

SAMUEL, HON. SAUL, C.M.G., Postmaster-General, New South Wales.

SANJO, J., Yedo, Japan.

SCOTT, SIR J. (late Governor of British Guiana.)

SEWELL, HORACE R., Quebec, Canada.

SHEPSTONE, HON. THEOPHILUS, C.M.G., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.

SHEPSTONE, THEOPHILUS, JUN., Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.

SHERIFF, W. MUSGRAVE, Attorney-General, Grenada, West Indies.

SMITH, HON. DONALD A., M.P., Montreal, Canada.

SMITH, JAMES F., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.

SNAGG, SIR WILLIAM, Kt., Chief Justice, Georgetown, British Guiana.

SPENSLEY, HON. HOWARD, M.L.C., Melbourne, Australia.

STAHLSCHMIDT, THOS. LETT, Victoria, British Columbia.

STANFORD, J. F., Diamond Fields, South Africa.

STANFORD, ROBERT HARLEY, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

STAYNER, T. SUTHERLAND, Toronto, Canada.

STEPHENS, ROMEO, Montreal, Canada.

STEWART, ROBERT, General Manager, Standard Bank of British South Africa, Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.

STUDHOLME, JOHN, Canterbury, New Zealand.

TENNANT, THE HON. DAVID, M.L.A., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cape of Good Hope.

THIBANDEAU, ALFRED, Quebec, Canada.

THOMPSON, J. ROGERS, Levuka, Fiji.

THOMPSON, THOMAS, Transvaal Republic, South Africa.

THOMSON, MATTHEW C., Rockhampton, Queensland.

THOMSON, W. A., M.P., Rideau Club, Ottawa, Canada.

THORNE, CORNELIUS, 16, Mark Lane, E.C.

THOZET, ANTHELME, Queensland.

TROUPE, H. R., Auckland, New Zealand.

TRUTCH, HON. J. W., Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

TYSSEN, G. R., Victoria, Australia.

UNIACKE, A. M., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

VEITCH, DR. J. T., Penang, Straits Settlements.

VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G. and C.B., Melbourne.

WALKER, MAJOR JOHN, London, Canada.

WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., Gaboon, West Africa.

WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, Victoria, British Columbia.

WATSON, THOMAS, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

WEBSTER, GEORGE, M.L.C., Wellington, New Zealand.

WELD, HON. FREDERICK A., Governor of Tasmania.

WHITE, THOMAS, Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.

WHITFIELD, R. H., Georgetown, British Guiana.

WOODS, ROBERT STUART, Q.C., Chatham, Canada.

WYATT, CAPTAIN (late Cape Mounted Rifles).

WHITLOCK, HERBERT CARLTON, M.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.

WHITMORE, COLONEL, The Grange, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

SESSION, 1874-75.

THE sudden and melancholy death, at Glasgow, on the 8rd of October, 1874, of the late esteemed Honorary Secretary, CHARLES WALTER EDDY, Esq., who had carried on the affairs of the Institute with so much spirit and success, caused the Session of 1874-75 to open with unusual gloom.

The high respect with which he was regarded by every member of the Institute, has induced the Council to publish the following brief Memoir of Mr. Eddy, which they believe will be read with much interest.

Mr. CHARLES WALTER EDDY was born March 24th, 1821. He was the third son of the Rev. Charles Eddy, of Guilsborough, and Rector of Bernerton, Wilts. His father died early, when his mother moved to Bath, where Charles Eddy was educated. He entered at Brasenose College, Oxford, about 1839; and took his Master of Arts' degree in 1848, when he obtained the Hulsean Scholarship, living at the University four years longer, where he acquired that store of learning of which he afterwards made such good use. At this time he abandoned the idea which he had entertained of taking orders, and entered himself at the Medical Classes of King's College, London, where he studied for three years, and in 1848 took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine at Oxford. He was shortly afterwards elected to the Ratcliffe Travelling Fellowship. There were ten candidates for this Fellowship; but Mr. Eddy's character in the University was so well known, that six of them retired when they learned that he was a competitor. This fellowship he held for ten years. He spent the first three of that time in travelling through Europe, and shortly after his return to England started for Tasmania, where he lived for some time, building himself a house there, and purchasing a little property near Launceston, which he called after his father's place, "Guilsborough."

He afterwards spent two years in Australia, and soon after his

return to England he made arrangements to visit America, where he remained one year, returning home in 1859.

In 1860 he married Frances Rosa, the second daughter of Mr. William Paget, of Sutton Bonington, in Nottinghamshire, and settled at Clifton, near Bristol; but in 1862 he moved to London, and was appointed, at the death of Mr. Francis Parkes, Secretary to the Danube and Black Sea Railway Company, which appointment he held at the time of his death.

Mr. Eddy never practised the medical profession in England.

In 1871, on the retirement of Mr. Roche, he succeeded to the Honorary Secretaryship of the Royal Colonial Institute, a post for which his energetic disposition and large Colonial experience rendered him peculiarly fitted, and the duties of which he filled to the last with the greatest ability, and with the cordial approval of his colleagues on the Council.

He had long been suffering from heart-disease, and the nature of it was well known to him and to his friends, but nothing could repress his enthusiasm, or induce him to spare himself and relax his efforts in the various objects in which he took so warm an interest; and especially in the promotion of a closer bond of union between Great Britain and her Colonial Empire.

In answer to the remonstrances of his wife and friends, he used to laugh at their fears and say, "Surely you would rather have me wear out than rust out." He dreaded a long illness that might incapacitate him from performing the duties which he had set himself to do, and always expressed a hope that he might die in the midst of his work. He was of untiring energy, and his brain was always occupied upon some scheme which he believed would benefit his country and his fellow-creatures. He was a man of peculiar singleness of purpose and uprightness of character, as well as of a most kindly, courteous disposition. He shrunk from giving pain to anyone. In a word, he was the true type of a Christian gentleman. His tastes and public duties brought him into intimate relations with all sorts and conditions of men, and his strict sense of honour made him quick to detect and oppose anything inconsistent with what he considered just and right. Yet he made no enemies, and died, as he had lived, in charity with all men.

Mr. Eddy was seized with sudden illness at the Glasgow Railway station on the morning of the 3rd of Oct. 1874, as he was on the point of joining a party of the Social Science Association, who were proceeding on an excursion to Loch Lomond; and after a few moments expired, honoured, esteemed, admired, and mourned by all who knew him, in the 53rd year of his age.

THE FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE first meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday evening, Dec. 8th, at the rooms of the Society of Arts, JAMES A. YOUL, Esq., C.M.G., in the chair.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY (Frederick Young, Esq.) read the minutes of the previous meeting and also a list of the names of sixty members who had been elected since the last meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, it is now my painful duty to announce the sudden death since our last meeting of our late Hon. Secretary, Mr. Eddy. It is quite impossible to overrate the loss which this Institute has sustained by his death. He devoted the whole of his varied abilities night and day to making the Royal Colonial Institute worthy of its name; his whole soul seemed devoted to the furtherance of the integrity of the British Empire, and he hoped that the Colonial Institute would be a means to that end; and, I may add with the greatest truth, that he died in harness in working out the great object of his life. Neither is it possible to overrate the estimation in which he was held by all those who had the honour of his acquaintance. I can hardly express my feelings in reference to him, for they would be overcome if I did so, or if I alluded to those feelings which possessed all his friends on hearing of his sudden death, which overtook him in the discharge of what he considered to be his duty. I have also to inform you that the Council have the pleasure of announcing that they have, after a great deal of difficulty, persuaded Mr. Frederick Young to accept the office of Hon. Secretary, and I am sure the appointment will commend itself to every member of the Institute. Before commencing the proceedings of the evening, I will ask the Hon. Secretary to read to you a letter which he has received from our President, the Duke of Manchester, who was not able to be present, and which he desired should be read to the meeting.

THE HON. SECRETARY: I can only say that I thoroughly endorse the eloquent observations of our Chairman with regard to our late excellent friend, Mr. Eddy. I feel myself that I have lost not only a warm private friend, but I also deplore, as much as any member of the Institute can do, the loss which we have sustained by his

sudden and unexpected departure from us. This is not the occasion for me to make any observations with regard to my own position in succeeding him. I am quite aware that I can but follow him at a very humble distance, but I can assure you I shall endeavour, in the performance of the duties I have accepted, to take him for my model, and endeavour as far as possible to tread in his footsteps.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the following letter from the Duke of Manchester :—

“ Kimbolton Castle, 26th Nov., 1874.

“ MY DEAR YOUNG,

“ I regret that I should be engaged on the first day of the Session, especially as it will be the first meeting after the loss of our late most excellent Secretary, Dr. Eddy; and I should have been glad to express in public my sense of the loss the Colonial Institute has sustained in his death, and how I, as the President shall miss the very great assistance on which I have always depended. His numerous personal friends have had better opportunity than I have had to appreciate his personal and social qualities, but I saw enough to know how those qualities were valued by them, and how they must regret his untimely fate. I speak as the President of the Society, whose present prosperity is chiefly owing to his tact, energy, and genial manner. And whether we obtain the political importance to which I think he looked forward, or whether we prosper only as a social and quasi scientific body, we shall never forget what we have owed to him.

Believe me, yours ever,

“ MANCHESTER.”

Mr. H. W. FREELAND, before proceeding to read Mr. Eddy's Paper, said : I have already paid my humble tribute at Glasgow to the memory of our lamented friend, the late Mr. Eddy. I shall, therefore, only ask for your indulgence for a few moments, while I offer a brief additional tribute to his memory, before I read, at the request of my colleagues on the Council, the leading portions of his Paper. For some three years past it has been my happy privilege to be associated with our lamented friend in the work of this excellent Institute. I may with truth say that I never have known any man for whom, in the same short space of time, I could entertain equally strong feelings of respect and esteem, I may add also, of attachment and regard. The loss which his personal friends have sustained is very great, but the loss which this Institute has sustained is very much greater. It is a loss which I venture to think that words are utterly inadequate to measure. I do not wish to damp or to disparage by anticipation the efforts of any gentleman who may be chosen to succeed him. I will not, therefore, speak of the loss to this Institute as irreparable, but I will content myself with saying that it is, what I believe it to be, enormous. The education, the manners, and the position of an English gentleman; the experiences of foreign and Colonial travel; a conciliatory bearing, and that tact which a

knowledge of human nature alone can give; a sound and firm but unostentatious judgment; a singleness of purpose, and an untiring energy, are qualifications which are hardly ever to be found united in one person. All these qualifications I venture to think that our lamented friend had. For this Institute he advocated a policy of what I may call unobtrusive practical usefulness, rather than a policy of display. He did not think that this Institute should be eternally interviewing Cabinet Ministers, and saying, "Behold the Institute has done this or that! How great we are!" To spread abroad useful information as regards the Colonies, to widen the basis of social intercourse with their inhabitants, and by enlightening public opinion to get things useful done, was the policy which he preferred, and I cordially agree with it, to a policy more ostentatious and sensational, but less effective in the end. Of his too short connection with this Institute as Honorary Secretary, I will only say in conclusion, *Vixit reipublicæ non diu sed totus*. God grant that his successor may tread in his steps! I am sure that we are all of us most deeply indebted to our friend, Mr. Frederick Young, for his kindness in consenting to undertake the duties of the honorary office which Mr. Eddy held.

Mr. FREELAND then read portions of the Paper of the late Mr. Eddy, entitled, "*What are the best means of drawing together the Interests of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and of strengthening the Bonds of Union?*" This paper had been prepared for, and was read before, the Social Science Congress at Glasgow, on Monday, October 5th, 1874. The Association kindly acceded to the desire of the Institute that its late Secretary's last paper should be read at the first meeting this Session. Mr. Eddy thus proceeds:—

This question, I think, implies that the retention of the Colonies in political union with ourselves is desirable, and has passed beyond the stage of argument. In fact, whatever diversity of opinion may have formerly existed on the Colonial question, I believe all political parties now profess the same principles, and that all men who have given any thought to the subject are agreed that they should be retained in close union, and that it would be a great misfortune not only to England and her Colonies but to the best interests of the whole human family if this great Empire should be broken up. The party which within the last two or three years have advocated with so much pertinacity the gift to the Colonies of what they were pleased to call their freedom, professed at the same time a desire to convert the existing relationship into an alliance, but they have discovered that their advocacy was

a somewhat thankless office, that their professions of goodwill were mistrusted by their would-be clients, that the Colonists did not consider themselves as otherwise than free, and had no mind to venture on rash and perilous experiments.

Let it be granted, then, that close union is desirable. What are the best means of strengthening the bonds that unite the Colonies to us ?

The usual answer to this question is, the confederation of the Colonies and the mother-country.

This is the object which the principal thinkers and writers and speakers on the great theme of the unity of the Empire have of late years with common consent indicated as the one to be kept steadily in view. But how is it to be best attained ? It is a thing not to be settled with a stroke of the pen, or achieved in a day, or without much thought and preparation of men's minds. The confederation of small communities into powerful States, and their consolidation into empires, is the evident tendency of the day, and as surrounding States thus grow more united and more powerful it becomes the more imperatively necessary that the remaining ones should follow the example, if they would secure their independence ; but we have seen in the case of other great nationalities that all healthy organisations of this kind are of slow and spontaneous growth, and refuse to be transplanted or forced.

I agree in thinking confederation the apparent means under Providence for attaining national unity, for consolidating the British Empire, and maintaining it in its integrity. But I think its advantages may be secured, as I hope by-and-by to show, by working on the ancient lines of the constitution, and avoiding such startling proposals as are apt to unsettle men's minds, to shock the timid and alarm the cautious, to disquiet men of business, and awake the fears of the taxpayer, and perhaps cause a panic amongst the fundholders.

I think they may be secured without the arduous and perilous and revolutionary process of drafting a federal constitution and offering it to all the scattered members of the Empire, for you must either win their free assent or impose it on them as a conqueror. The latter method is repugnant to the nature of Englishmen and is not to be thought of, and the former is beset with difficulties, for dissentients there would certainly be, and what can be done with them ? We have a pregnant instance of such difficulties in the case of Newfoundland, which refuses to join the great Canadian confederation, though one would suppose therein lay her clear interests and manifest destiny. And again, in the dissatisfaction

already expressed in the Leeward Islands with the confederation which a few years ago was effected under pressure from the Home Government, but which is found to work with so much friction that unless held together by a continuance of this pressure it would probably fall to pieces before a fair trial had been given it.

No doubt this friction will be overcome, and the machinery will eventually be got to work smoothly. I only mention it as an instance of the difficulties involved in the formation of a durable confederacy under outside pressure, in the absence of any strong and overmastering necessity.

In strong contrast to such instances of the difficulties inherent in what I may call the artificial construction of confederacies, has been the great and highly successful scheme for the confederation of the North American Provinces into the Dominion of Canada. The movement was inaugurated at a Colonial conference at Quebec, and meeting with due encouragement from the Home Government, has resulted in a stable and vigorous organisation which will probably form a model which will be widely copied.

No circumstances have as yet arisen to force on the public mind of the whole Empire a conviction of the necessity or advantages of confederation, and any authoritative attempt to force it prematurely into prominence would in my opinion be fraught with difficulties and dangers little thought of by many who are dazzled with the brilliancy of the prospect. It would probably kindle into flame a host of jealousies and rival pretensions now happily slumbering ; it would almost certainly be misunderstood ; be regarded with suspicion by some colonists as the project of a school of doctrinaires who cannot be contented to let well alone ; by others as intended to cover designs on the freedom which they now enjoy, and on the disposal of those revenues over which they have now such absolute control. And those who should take this view have some ground to go on, for if confederation means anything, it implies contribution from all the members, in proportion to their means, to the maintenance of the independence, the support of the power and authority and dignity of the whole. And again, by a certain class of minds, confederation would be regarded as synonymous with republicanism pure and simple ; whilst others would think that to be complete it should include all English speaking communities throughout the world, and that the post of honour in such a union should be assigned to that collection of English States which first conceived the idea, and carried it into effect in defiance of the mother-country, and have maintained it successfully against foreign and domestic foes for near a century.

Such considerations lead me to fear that direct proposals of this nature emanating from the central authority, and brought forward in the absence of any common danger or of other urgent reason not admitting of much deliberation or delay, would be of doubtful success and be attended with the dangers of all proposals which are in advance of public opinion, and for which the minds of those whom they are intended to benefit are not prepared. Circumstances may, however, at any time arise without much warning which will make it a matter of regret that this great subject has not occupied the attention it deserves, and that all that is possible has not been done by our statesmen to prepare the public mind for its contemplation, and to remove obstacles from the way of its accomplishment whenever the crisis may arise. What are these obstacles and what is the nature of the preparation that may be made?

First of all, the weaning process must be abandoned, and the "gift of independence" theory rejected, and the exasperating hints to our Colonies that they are free to leave us dropped. In lieu of these, Englishmen at home and in the Colonies must be accustomed to regard themselves of one family, bound together by ties indissoluble except by common consent—as citizens of a common country, and that no mean one, but a nation to be proud of with the pride of a *civis Romanus*. But this implies the maintenance of the honour and prestige and dignity of the metropolitan state, and is altogether incompatible with the low views of a nation's responsibilities, the mean and grovelling doctrines of expediency and submission to circumstances, and readiness to put up with insults for the sake of peace and retrenchment, and shrinking from the assertion of the rights, which have of late prevailed amongst us.

To quote the noble language of the member for Dundee, and present Agent-General for Canada: "I know no humiliation for a people greater than the decadence of national sentiment, no danger to their permanence or greatness so imminent as to see them bent at all events upon success before honour, on peace at the expense of conscience, on ease to avoid sacrifice. The ignoble fate which has befallen all such nations is, to my mind, one of the few gratifying compensations of history, one that satisfies with peculiar relish our human instinct of right. Believe me, this sense of national honour is no intangible thing. It is that which prevents a people from sinking down to a community of tradesmen, and which prompts some of the best and healthiest activities of life. It were better that a nation should utterly perish in the

agony of a noble purpose, than languish in a syncope of luxurious indifference to honour, to duty, and to glory."

We may rely on it that the possession of Colonies, like other great possessions, can be retained only by the strong, by those who are strong not only in material resources but in moral qualities such as inspire respect and affectionate attachment; hence the retention of Colonies which add so much to the dignity and power of a State is one great reward of public virtue, and should act as one of its chief stimulants. If a nation loses its self-respect, how should it expect to retain the respect of its children?

Instances enough of the "ignoble fate" referred to above are to be found in the history of former colonising nations, such as Spain and Portugal, which became corrupted by the wealth brought them by their Colonies. Their public virtue and national sentiment decayed; they earned the contempt of their dependencies, and their rule was thrown off in spite of all the efforts to retain it. So it was with us in the case of our original American Colonies. We lost them in an age of public corruption, and in consequence of the temporary degradation of the national character, of which the unjust attempt to tax dependencies without extending to them the concurrent right to representation was but a symptom.

The shock given by the loss and the dangers to which the nation found itself exposed by the alliance of these Colonists with our hereditary enemies acted as a tonic in renovating its former vigour, and have preserved it, let us hope, to work out the great purposes of the Creator upon earth.

But the history of the decay and break-up of these Transatlantic Colonial Empires suggests a question which it will be well to consider before proceeding further in the advocacy of Confederation; viz. whether there are any inherent and insuperable difficulties in the proposal to confederate the British Empire which should make it idle to pursue the theme.

Mr. Gladstone, in a debate which occurred when he was Prime Minister, last year, said that there are such difficulties; that the great distances and the wide extent of sea that rolls between England and her Colonies present a natural and insuperable obstacle to intimate political union. To the mind of the great scholar, the *oceanus dissociabilis* appears to have decided the whole question in the negative; but the ocean barrier is a Roman, not an English idea. To a great maritime and commercial nation, a race passionately fond of the sea, a seafaring people in whom nautical instincts have for ages been hereditary, it is the ocean highway that

is the great bond of union between distant lands, alone rendering intercourse between them safe and easy. As to distance, the scattered elements of a world-wide empire must necessarily be far removed from one another, but the ocean steamship and the submarine cable have annihilated distance, and have brought Australia nearer to London than Glasgow was at the time of the union. Without this ocean highway, commerce on a large scale could not possibly be carried on. Improve railways as you may, I will leave it to a Glasgow audience to compute what would be the cost of a ton of jute brought overland from India, or of a chest of tea from China. Railways are constructed cheaply in America, yet even there it is well understood that the cost of transporting corn for a very few hundred miles by railway is more than the corn is worth at market, whilst, on the other end, corn is brought by sea over a great many thousand miles, even from such remote distances as California and Australia, to London, and merchandise from California to New York prefers the long sea route to the much shorter land one. As an Englishman, I say that these islands of ours are contiguous to all lands washed by the ocean tide, and that their inhabitants are our nearest neighbours. Our Colonies were won and annexed by Great Britain as mistress of the sea, and long may they be retained by her whose sceptre is the trident; mere distance by sea is no barrier to intercourse, and it would be just as reasonable to argue that the silver streak of sea that separates Ireland from Great Britain is an insuperable barrier to union. I maintain against Mr. Gladstone that there is no essential difference in the two cases. Would our State and nation ever have been built up if such difficulties had been held to be insuperable, and if feeble and timid counsels of this kind had been allowed to prevail? Happily our fathers were made of sterner stuff, and were apt to see in difficulties, chiefly obstacles for genius and energy to overcome. They won, and have left us a great inheritance. Shall we not hand it down at least unimpaired to our children? It is worthy of remark that Mr. Gladstone has not thought it worth his while to visit any of our great Colonies, and that it has not been the habit of English statesmen to visit any of the distant parts of the magnificent empire whose destinies are confided to them. There would be great and obvious advantages in their so doing, and thus becoming personally and familiarly acquainted with the various parts that constitute the "one stupendous whole." It should form a part of the political education of all public men. They would then learn to regard Colonists not as aliens *penitus toto orbe divisos*, but as Englishmen, and to think less of the difficulties of union.

Again, those who urge insuperable difficulties in the consolidation of an island empire are not in the habit of suggesting any in the maintenance of the wide domain of the United States, which stretches over a breadth of above 8,000 miles of land, partly desert, from New England to California, the intercourse between the extremities being almost wholly by sea, nor in that of Russian power over such distant provinces as Kamskatcha and the Amoor, separated as these are from the seat of Government by thousands of versts of frozen continent. Here the maintenance of authority would indeed be difficult, if not hopeless, were it not for the ocean highway which renders political as well as commercial union possible. I have dwelt with some iteration on this part of the question, because I know that to many minds it presents great difficulties, but I think we may fairly dismiss it by asking what essential difference there is between the conditions of commercial and those of political union, that should make the very circumstances that favour the one prohibitive of the other, and leaving it to our opponents to show that any such essential difference exists.

But it may be urged, how few confederacies have succeeded. The history of the world shows but two that have endured for a single century—those of Switzerland and the United States; but this is to confound federal republicanism with confederation of states under monarchical supremacy. The chances of success are certainly against the former. The domestic history of ancient Greece is little else than a record of its failure; it has been tried by almost every state of the old and new world that has shaken off a despotism, and has almost invariably failed; but, on the other hand, what are the limited monarchies of which ours is the model but groups of States with more or less independent local powers which have arrayed themselves under a common executive with a common legislature for federal purposes? The kingdom of England grew out of the Heptarchy, and the British power out of the union of three kingdoms.

So have grown the present France, Spain, Italy, and Holland. And this tendency to federalism under the monarchy is not extinct amongst us; it needs not to be reinstituted, it is growing under our eyes with a vigorous vitality, and what is principally needed is that our statesmen should see and recognise and respect it, not interfering with it except so far as to remove out of its path the obstacles which I shall presently indicate. Having then met these preliminary objections to the adoption throughout our Empire of the federal principle, and shown them, as I hope, to be

imaginary, let us inquire into the history of some recent instances of its adoption, that we may see if we have aught to learn from them : and first, of the great neighbouring State which furnishes the most striking and familiar example. The old German Empire had been broken up into a number of petty States which had widely diverged from each other, as drawn in different directions by their several interests and affinities and creeds. The Germans had long been sensible of the weakness arising from division, and had earnestly desired reunion. This had been attempted through the Frankfort Diet, but had failed for want of a strong executive in a *εἰς κοῖνον* whose claims to lead and represent the confederacy should be readily conceded and cheerfully obeyed. A common danger, and a great and successful war waged in common with an alien race under the leadership of one of the States, at length afforded a far-seeing and resolute statesman the desired opportunity of welding these States again into one Commonwealth ; but he saw that a federal union, to be capable of defying the antagonistic forces, social and religious, which it would contain, and which would be arrayed against it as soon as the crisis which had called it into existence was passed, must be rooted in feeling and sentiment, and not merely based on the convenience of a passing hour. His aim accordingly was not merely a Federation of States but National Unity, and he attained it by appealing to the strong national sentiment of patriotism, by the adoption of a national flag as a symbol of the essential brotherhood and unity of the great German family, and by reviving the dignity and renovating the splendour of that ancient German Empire which all Germans alike revered, in the person of an Emperor surrounded by a court. Whilst all German States were to retain their local self-government under the Empire, all were to be admitted to equal participation in its honours and privileges which would throw in their lot unreservedly for weal or woe as members of it, and to that end would help to form and maintain one Imperial Army and Navy, and contribute in proportion to their means to its necessary expenses. Thus was the consolidation rendered complete ; the people felt that they were again a nation, and that their true career had at length begun.

Again, how was Italy confederated ? When the presence of a common and imminent danger forced on Italians the urgent need of union, it was effected by raising to sovereign power an ancient and princely house, which had long been distinguished for its devotion to the popular interests and struggles with the common enemy ; by extending its sway over the whole congeries of petty

states, but, at the same time, extending to all these equal rights and equal participation in the honours and privileges of the newly-founded kingdom.

In like manner, France has been preserved from dissolution, and Spain from dismemberment, during their protracted troubles, by the sentiment of nationality, and by that alone. It is the strongest bond of union, and the greatest safeguard against anarchy ; and yet there are philosophers and, no doubt, well-meaning men amongst us (some of them men who have climbed to high office in the State) who decry and ridicule the sentiments of nationality and patriotism as relics of barbarism unworthy of a thinking age. Happily, the world is not yet governed by the philosophers.

Thus the Empire of Germany was restored, and the realm of Italy founded, by appealing to a common and noble sentiment, and by placing the States which responded to the appeal on a common footing of perfect equality and brotherhood. They are formed on the eternal principles of fealty and honour and justice, and are in harmony with the higher and nobler instincts of mankind, as well as with its more vulgar material interests. These may seem simple and obvious principles, but they lie at the root of the whole question, and are the indispensable conditions of a lasting union—whether between a mother-country and her Colonies, or between separate States. Do we comply with these conditions ? We, like the Germans, have an ancient monarchy, of which all Englishmen throughout its wide domain are proud. It is a monarchy which has for eight centuries survived the attacks to which it has been subjected from within and from without ; which, no less by its glorious annals than by the blessings it has conferred and the benefits it has secured to its subjects wherever scattered throughout the world, has won the esteem and honour of all men, and is, probably, at this time more deeply rooted in the affections of the whole English race than at any former period. Is not this grand and ancient monarchy the proper instrument, under Providence, for uniting and retaining in close and brotherly union all the scattered communities of Englishmen ? To its influence let those testify who, like myself, have witnessed in the Colonies the deep and earnest sympathy which the trials of the crown, in foreign war and in domestic sorrow, have called forth from men of all political parties and of every shade of opinion—men who agree on no other subject, and whom it would be hopeless to attempt to unite on any other principle. The throne of England is clearly the rallying-point destined to reunite us all.

Under this ancient and much-venerated monarchy there has

grown up a constitution which is not only the pride of British subjects, but has formed a model for many another nation and many a nascent community. Under this monarchy and the free institutions which the central and august authority enthroned in the hearts of all have alone rendered possible, the race whose birthplace and cradle was within these small islands is becoming the master race of the whole world, and is growing into a power which, united, is irresistible, but if split into fragments and divided against itself, would, at all events in its younger branches, be at the mercy of other great and ambitious powers. The natural instinct of these younger branches is for continued and, if possible, closer union; and it is not surprising that they should have indignantly resented the designs of that school of *doctrinaires* which proposed to wean and alienate them from us—designs, however, of which their very authors appear now to be ashamed.

But if there exists the common centre to which all naturally gravitate, and the common instinct of union, what remains to hinder or retard its accomplishment? This remains: that all the States which constitute the Empire should be placed on a common footing, practically as they are theoretically, and be treated habitually as integral parts of the Empire; that the common principle of equal rights be observed, without favour or partiality; that all loyal men, in whatever part residing, should be regarded as alike the subjects and entitled to the equal favour of the crown. Some people may innocently ask whether they are not so regarded and so treated, and I answer, emphatically, No, for that the subjects of the crown in distant lands are treated more as aliens than as loyal subjects, and that a persistence in such invidious and unwarrantable distinctions will endanger the existence of the Empire, and until redressed will certainly be an insuperable barrier to any closer union. What are these invidious distinctions which are upheld between natives of these Islands and their brethren in the Colonies, as if intended to inform them that they are not fellow-citizens with us of a common country? I proceed to enumerate some of them, and in doing so shall quote largely from Colonial writers and statesmen of eminence, because it will thus be seen that they are no imaginary grievances springing from the fertile brain of a sympathiser, but real ones keenly felt by Colonists. Leading Colonists are not admitted to share in the old-established dignities of the Empire, nor afforded opportunities of distinguishing themselves in the service of the crown. The whole list of baronets contains, I think, only one name of any
[a Colony, and they are rigidly excluded from any higher

rank. They are not made members of the Privy Council of the Empire, not admitted to the Order of the Bath, far less of the Garter. In lieu of these a great parade has been made of the remodelling for their especial benefit of a lower order—an order created originally for the reward of aliens who had served the crown, that of *cavalieri* and companions of St. Michael and St. George, an order accordingly which we find stuffed with the names of Maltese and Corfiotes, and that must always retain the taint of an un-English origin. As if this was not enough, the order has been further degraded since its revival by the creation of a new order to which precedence over it has been assigned, that of the Star of India.

Nor are Colonists admitted to the higher ranks in this order, which it is boasted was revived for their especial benefit. They are relegated to the lowest grade, that of *cavalieri* and companions, only three or four of the knights of the order being natives of any colony, and not one a Grand Cross. The second rank has, in fact, been reserved for Englishmen who have served the crown in connection with the Colonies, and the order has been so much discredited in the eyes of loyal Colonists by having, in some instances, been conferred on men whose efforts have been directed not to preserve but to break up the Empire, that it is understood to have been declined by not a few. Well might Rajah Brooke exclaim of such titles as these, that even the fiction that they are conferred by the sovereign can scarcely render them respectable.

A distinguished Nova Scotian, Mr. Haliburton, who has inherited his father's (Sam Slick) vein of satirical humour, comments felicitously on such anomalies in a paper entitled "Pariahs of the Empire," which lately appeared in the "St. James's Magazine." * He says:—

"The order of St. Michael and St. George having been created for Greeks and Maltese, it was magnanimously resolved that distinguished Colonists might be allowed to join their society. But the strain on Imperial generosity proved too severe; the British Government could not resist the temptation to appropriate even these questionable honours to Englishmen, the Pariahs being reserved for the lowest order. Again, the Home and Foreign Services, the Indian departments, the various offices in connection with the court and the government of the country, are closed against the millions of Englishmen who are born abroad. Nay, the very patronage of the Colonial Office has hitherto been reserved

* See July No. 1874.

for Englishmen, although occasionally a Colonist is sent to the West Coast of Africa to prepare him for another and a happier world."

His father, Judge Haliburton, many years before had written :—

"The organisation is wrong; they are two peoples, not one. It should not be England and her Colonies, but they should be integral parts of one great whole, all counties of Great Britain: It should be no bar to a man's promotion, as it is now, that he lived beyond the seas, than living the other side of the Irish Channel. It should be our Navy, our Army, our Nation. That's a great word, but the English keep it to themselves, and Colonists have no nationality, they have no place, no station, no rank. Colonists are the Pariahs of the Empire."

The Judge had the opportunity of stating these grievances in his place in the British House of Commons, but in vain; he had no following, and was not a power that any Minister had need to propitiate. If, indeed, we seek the cause of such unequal treatment, we shall find it in the simple fact that the Colonies have had no representation in the Imperial Parliament, and so have not been able to make their just claims and rights respected by Governments based on parliamentary majorities. But is this a reason for the denial of justice and fair dealing? Listen to the warnings of Mr. Herman Merivale, uttered towards the close of a long and honourable career as permanent Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office. On the subject of Colonial distinctions, an extract from "*Fraser's Magazine*" may not be inappropriate :—

"Let philosophers deem of it as they may, the bestowal of public honours affords one of the noblest incentives to public virtue which the community has it in its power to furnish. And the feeling of possessing such honours in common would be specially conducive to that sense of national unity which we wish to foster. We seem, in my humble judgment, to have thrown this advantage, which was within our reach, deliberately away. We have created a Colonial order of knighthood, as if to give express sanction to the doctrine attributed to us by the discontented, that mother-country and Colonies are not to be classed together. Every honour which the crown can bestow should be Imperial, in my opinion, and open to every subject of the crown, in all its dominions peopled by Englishmen. And, in the next place, such honours as Colonists do enjoy are only bestowed by the crown (in self-governing Colonies), on the advice of the Colonial Prime Minister, tendered through the Governor. It would be difficult to suggest any contrivance calculated to render them less valuable. The Prime Minister

in a Colonial democracy is the creature of the day. He is absolute for his time, but he knows that his time is short. He is nearly exempt from those national cares and interests to which the rulers of a great country are subject, and which create titles to public honour independent of party. His highest concern is to manage well the affairs entrusted to his charge; his lowest, but most ordinary and most engrossing, to keep his party together and to hold his place. And it is this last purpose, I am afraid, which he will have chiefly in view in distributing such honours as he can dispose of. I speak in the future tense, because the conferring Colonial honours under responsible government is as yet too novel an experiment to admit of more positive commentary. But I can entertain little doubt that the machinery must work in the way I have anticipated. If I were to affirm broadly that the established usage under which the Crown distributes honours under the advice of party leaders, at home as well as in the Colonies, deadens the public appreciation of these chivalrous rewards, gives them an ineffaceable stain of vulgarity, demoralises patriotic impulse, tends to lower even the standard of popular respect for the Crown itself, I should doubtless be charged with gross exaggeration. But I should appeal to the judgment of such as will throw aside inveterate prepossessions and consider the question with impartial philosophy."

Mr. Merivale, again, in his work on Colonisation and Colonies, has recorded his opinion that it was owing to the want of a nobility and an Established Church that England found so little support in the day of revolution in her ancient Colonies. In this he did but confirm the opinion of Pitt, who declared that the absence of honours had accelerated the defection of our former Colonies. Burke and Wilberforce advocated the creation of hereditary titles in the Colonies as a means of preserving their attachment to us, and I believe that every statesman of that critical period of our history whose name is still held in honour amongst Englishmen was of the same opinion. But steps of this kind must be taken in time, before the crisis arrives, for when supineness and *laissez faire* have met with their natural result in discontent and disaffection, the creation of dignities and bestowal of honours would come too late, for they would deservedly be rejected as a bribe. In this matter then, above all things, it behoves our statesmen to be wise in time. Judge Haliburton and his son, whom I have quoted, have a peculiar title to be heard, for they are descendants of United Empire loyalists, who abandoned their homes and all their fortunes in the States rather than relinquish their allegiance. But

I might quote the Hon. Joseph Howe, a late Cabinet Minister of Canada, W. Jardine Smith, of Melbourne, the late W. C. Wentworth, of New South Wales, and many other Colonists, who have in vigorous and eloquent terms denounced the jealous and exclusive retention of all the highest honours by the parent State as ungenerous and un-English; and it may be well understood that what a few great writers and speakers have given utterance to rankles in the breasts of thousands, but that a certain proud fear of being supposed to covet such honours deters many from saying what is in their hearts. The moral effect of this exclusive system is degrading, for by not encouraging you do all that in you lies to discourage amongst Colonists the higher aspirations and nobler sentiments, to discountenance everything but a snobbish and ignoble acquisitiveness as shown in the mere acquisition of material wealth. In so doing you incur a serious and heavy responsibility; you act practically on the maxim so coarsely expressed by a minister of Queen Anne in reply to a petition from the Colonists of Virginia, praying that duly ordained clergy should be sent out to attend to the interests of their immortal souls, "Oh, damn your souls; grow tobacco." The political effect of this exclusive system is also full of danger, for our Colonists must necessarily have their full share of ambitious men whose great aim in life is personal distinction; and that if these men, who are gifted with the qualities of leadership, are debarred from attaining the higher dignities of the Empire, they are certain to become disaffected, and to advocate separation as giving them better chances of distinction. This year, 1874, sees the completion of a century since the ancient Colonies of Britain were driven into rebellion and the renunciation of her flag. It is to be feared that the old cankerworm of jealousy of thriving Colonies, which caused that fatal disruption, is still gnawing at the root of the parent tree.

Again, it is a matter of common remark that services military and civil rendered by Colonists to their native Colonies, are scarcely, if at all, recognised by the Crown, which is the sole fountain of honour, although such services, in being rendered to the possessions of the Crown, are rendered to the Crown itself. And again, though our great Colonies boast a strong Bar, which displays great forensic talents, and though legal ability of the highest order is constantly developed amongst Colonists, it is complained that the judgments of Colonial Courts are not treated by the Supreme Courts in England with the respect due to them, and which is conspicuously accorded to those of the United States; and also that in matters of promotion the Colonial Bar is practically treated as

distinct from and outside ours. There should clearly be but one Imperial Bar, and in this, as in so many other respects, all should be treated as "but parts of one tremendous whole."

Again, Colonists are practically debarred from the great arena of employment which India affords. Why should they not be freely admitted to win honour and renown in that great field of enterprise? In fact, the policy which has been pursued to the very verge of breaking up the Empire has been a policy of "peaceful separation," and in spite of all the official denials that we have heard of late, the evidence of this is perfectly conclusive. If, as we hope and believe, it is to be reversed, it must be strongly impressed on the Home Government, which dispenses the patronage and honours of the Crown, that all who are born within the wide bounds of the Empire are alike Her Majesty's subjects, and have equal claims to consideration; all distinctions must cease, just as distinctions between England, Scotland, and Ireland have ceased.

It has been the habit of some of our leading journals to talk of Colonists as distinct from Englishmen, hardly entitled to the name, as persons with whom we have but slight ties and but few interests in common. But who are in reality these Colonists, that they should be so flouted? They comprise the brothers and sisters, the cousins or nephews and nieces and sons-in-law of many of us. The growth of the Colonies has of late years been so rapid that probably a majority of their present inhabitants (which may be taken at about seven millions of white population) are natives of these islands. I have seen it computed that for every existing family in the old country one person has emigrated; and be it remembered that whilst the Irish betake themselves preferentially to the United States, the British go chiefly to our own Colonies. I presume there is scarcely a family of North Britain that either is not already or that does not hope to be thus linked to the Colonies, that does not look on them as the fairest heritage of younger sons. They naturally attract the most vigorous and energetic of our people, for they afford no career to the weak and timid, or indolent waiters on Providence, or hangers-on on patronage and court influence. Those from among us whose adventurous spirit has led them to the less occupied parts of the national domain in pursuit of fortune, or of such a livelihood as our own crowded ranks deny them, remain to all intents and purposes British. They are men of like affections with ourselves, as much attached to all that we reverence and hold dear. *Cælum non animum mutamus migrantes* is their motto, and being in all respects fully our equals, it is not to be expected that they should tolerate at our hands the patronising

and supercilious air with which they are occasionally treated. Are they less highly educated than ourselves? On the contrary, their educational grants put ours to shame; common education is much more widely diffused in the Colonies than in England—as much so, I suppose, as in Scotland. There are several Colonial colleges at which the standard for the degree is quite as high as at our Universities, whilst many of the wealthier Colonial youths are now sent home to graduate at these latter. Colonial statesmen compare very favourably with our own ruling classes, and naturally so, for amongst them there is free and open competition, and happily none of that predominating family influence which in England limits the choice of Ministers to a few heaven-descended families.

Many Colonial ministers could be named who have displayed the highest administrative ability and aptitude for government in ruling and reducing to order the *rudis indigestaque moles* of unbalanced democracies which we have so kindly handed over to them. Hence the striking fact that throughout the wide domain of our Empire there reigns profound peace and order, whilst all is turbulence without. Again, in most Colonial communities there is observable a more manly and self-reliant tone of public opinion than with us. Such outbreaks of ruffianism as shock us here, in every paper we take up, displayed in outrages on defenceless women and old people, committed almost with impunity, would not be tolerated in any Colony with which I am acquainted; they would be sternly repressed, and accordingly are never heard of. In loyalty, again, and attachment to the Throne and to British institutions, the Colonies have often shown that they are quite on a level with us. I have dwelt on this part of my subject at the greater length, because nothing is more certain than that a union, to be lasting, must be based on mutual respect. The Colonies amply pay their tribute of respect to us in the admiration of our greatness and power, and I claim for them the tribute of respect due to their enterprise and independence of character.

I say that any misconception on this head arises from the shameful ignorance which prevails amongst us of the history and condition and prospects of a Colonial Empire which should justly be a matter of so much pride to us. It should be a part of the ordinary school course, and a leading subject in all examinations for the service of the State. The Colonies have everything to gain by becoming better known. That they enormously augment the commerce, and thereby the wealth and power of this country, has been abundantly proved by statistics, as to the truth of which anyone may readily satisfy himself. (For reference on this subject, see

Mr. Archibald Hamilton's paper on "Our Colonies," read before and published by the Statistical Society, and my "Tables of British Commerce.") These show that Colonists become larger consumers of our manufactures by emigrating, and so bettering themselves, than they could have been if they had remained here. They take our wares, and at the same time cease to consume our store. The very last financial year has signally confirmed the conclusions which Mr. Hamilton and I arrived at, quite independently of each other, in these researches, for it has shown that whilst our exports to Europe and the United States, and the whole world outside the British world, have declined by no less than seven millions, or 8·5 per cent., those to our own possessions have in the same time increased by nearly six millions, or 9·5 per cent. Therefore it is clear that our whole trade would have alarmingly collapsed if new worlds had not been discovered in our Colonies to redress the balance of the old. These facts were brought prominently before the world in a leading article in the *Times* of August 17th last, a paper which cannot be accused of any too partial bias towards the preservation of the connection with our Colonies. My tables have shown (I think to demonstration, their deductions never to my knowledge having been controverted), that when Colonies have transferred their allegiance or become independent States, as in the case of the United States, their trade ceases to be preferentially with the parent State, and as far as commercial intercourse is concerned, they become precisely as foreign countries.

Bearing these facts in mind, we cannot be surprised that our Colonists should ask indignantly, as they are asking, why they should be looked on with coldness, and treated as they think they are treated in so many ways, as branches of the family of less dignity, and deserving of less consideration than ourselves. I entirely believe that such instances of supercilious treatment are no longer designed, but are the relics of bygone corrupt administration which cared only for the Colonies as a field for patronage and pensions, and of more recent but now exploded political doctrines aiming at the formation of a number of independent Anglo-Saxon communities throughout the world.

But, whatever be the cause, all distinctions of this kind are unwarrantable, and in the worst possible taste, because founded on false assumptions, therefore pretentious and snobbish. They are, however, directly encouraged by the State, as long as Colonists are deterred or discouraged from entering the service of the Crown in a military or civil capacity) and in this respect matters have

become much worse since the general withdrawal of the troops from the Colonies. Whilst our army was quartered throughout the Empire there was the constant incentive to young Colonists to enter it, and great encouragement was held out to them to do so by the grant of commissions on the recommendation of the Governor, as the Queen's representative. Now I fear it is different, and that very few Colonists enter our army, and still fewer the navy. It may so easily be understood how strong a bond of union brotherhood in the same honourable services must be, that it is not worth descanting on. The materials for the recruiting of our services in the Colonies are magnificent, and a few figures will indicate them. Canada is now the third naval power in the world, possessing more than a million tons of shipping, and having beaten France hopelessly in the race.

She has an active militia of 45,000 men under the direct command of the Queen, representing the pick of her 3,756,000 people, and commanded and officered by regularly trained officers, besides a reserved militia of 700,000, and excellent military schools. Here is a formidable power to enlist on our side, or to alienate and array against us. The other large Colonies boast of militia in proportion to their population, and of well-organised and most creditable volunteer corps.

The development of the militia and volunteer forces in our Colonies may be judged from the list of officers who form the permanent staff, as given in our Army List; for these now number 4,772 (besides 155 retired, but still kept on the books).

The Australian Colonies, and New Zealand also, have a large and increasing marine, and one of them, Victoria, maintains three ships of war. But—will it be credited?—these ships are refused admission to our Navy List, and are only allowed the use of our flag with a distinctive badge. Could any stronger instance be imagined of the alienation policy to which I have had occasion to refer?

In like manner the Colonial military forces have only been admitted within the last year or two to the body of our Army List, and that after a struggle on the part of the Colonial party in England which is amusing to think of; but there at length they are, and I look on their insertion as an augury of improved relations in the future.

There should be but one Imperial army and one navy, and if it be said that it would be difficult to get the Colonies to join the mother-country in forming these, the assertion only argues ignorance of the Colonies and of their habits of thought. Proposals of

this kind abruptly made by a Cabinet, or brought forward in our Houses of Parliament in an exacting and offensive manner, would probably ensure their own rejection, and prove as hazardous as the attempt to tax the tea in Boston harbour; but if submitted to the Colonies prudently, tentatively, and with ordinary tact, *i.e.* in a statesmanlike manner, offering them the enrolment of a certain quota from each, as Imperial regiments and ships, they could not fail of success. And what a grand power for good and for the maintenance of the harmony and tranquillity of the world, and the promotion of the cause of human civilisation and progress, would the British Empire then become! Shall it rise to this height of grandeur, or sink, as other Empires have sunk, to be a thing for contempt—"a fixed figure for the hand of scorn to point her slow, unmoving finger at"?

The present period of profound tranquillity is clearly the time for organising the defences of the Empire on a sensible footing. *In pace para bellum.* It is true that Colonists have of late been assured that the honour of this country would oblige it to expend its last shilling in their defence; but they hold such stilted and exaggerated language, in the absence of any preparation to justify it, for what it is worth, or rather resent it for its patronising tone, and, in fact, the natural effect of language of this kind (if it have any) must be to alarm the English tax-payer at the extent of his liabilities, and make him anxious to reduce them by getting rid of the Colonies. The whole tone of British colonisation is that of a somewhat arrogant self-reliance, and in this matter of defence they have shown no reluctance, but the utmost readiness, to equip and organise their local defences—conspicuously so when, in 1870, they had reason to apprehend that we should be dragged into the European war; but they look, though hitherto in vain, for some scheme of common defence to be put before them by the Home Government, where alone such a scheme can originate. As yet, the Home Government has revealed no scheme of policy in the matter; no preparations are making for organising the forces of the Empire, and all appears to be left to the haphazard of the next war.

But this question of federal naval and military forces opens the large one of the representation of the Colonies in the councils of the nation. That they cannot be represented in our House of Commons I hold to be so clear as not to be worth arguing; but surely there are other modes than this.

A well-known "Old Colonist," writing in "*Fraser's Magazine*," in December, 1872, says: "Colonists have never shown any symptoms

of shrinking from the responsibilities which rightly fall on them. If they were represented in the Imperial councils, it would naturally follow that they should pay their quota to Imperial institutions; whilst, on the other hand, if they are persistently denied all concern in the management of the external affairs of the Empire, they will certainly some day demur (as they have already demurred in Australia) to being bound by conditions, or committed by acts, to which they are no parties, and concerning which they were never consulted.

Mr. W. Jardine Smith, of Melbourne, and other Colonial writers, have advocated the formation of a Supreme Council of the Empire, for the consideration of the external affairs, and others in which the whole Empire is interested; and this project of a council, rather than of a united Parliament, is clearly the favourite idea of Colonists. It is one which is greatly favoured and facilitated by the appointment of Agents-General in London to represent all the larger Colonies, and these are in some instances surrounded by a court of advisers similar to the India Council. This plan is evidently taking root, and expanding and growing with the healthy growth of all English institutions which experience shows to be congenial and useful.

In furtherance of this project of a Supreme Council, I some time ago submitted to an assembly of Colonists a scheme which was received with a certain amount of favour, though it was acknowledged to be hopeless to put it before the Government of the day. Of this I will, with your leave, in conclusion, reproduce the heads. It is one that has received the approval of so profound a student of constitutional history as Mr. Froude, who wrote on it as follows:—"The machinery of the Privy Council is, as you say, made to the hand for a judicious reconstruction of our Colonial relations."

My proposal was not to attempt to create *de novo* a power unknown to the constitution that we all revere, but still, planting our footsteps on her ancient and well-trodden paths, to take advantage of the machinery provided by that venerable institution, "the Queen's most honourable Privy Council," by reviving in a manner suited to the present and prospective exigencies of our Colonies that department of it which was formed under the name of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, and so constituting a branch of the Council for advice on the general concerns of the whole Empire, in like manner as the Judicial Committee of the Council is constituted as the Court of Final Appeal on legal matters. I showed that the Cabinet, whose only

legal status is that it consists only of privy councillors, and is, in fact, a committee of that body, may be regarded as the standing committee for general purposes, and is supposed to represent the prevailing public opinion of the kingdom for the time being; that it is necessarily in harmony with the House of Commons, but with that only; and that an analogous committee for counsel and advice, in which the Colonies as well as the mother-country should be represented, would apparently provide the whole machinery necessary for the government of the Empire. Each division of the Empire and each great self-governing Colony or group, should be represented in it in proportion to its numbers; hence the British representatives would for the present be four or five times as numerous as those of all the Colonies together, but this proportion would vary *pari passu* with the more rapid growth of the younger portions of the Empire.

The Agents-General of the Colonies would naturally be the chosen representatives of each.

All who are once made members of the Privy Council are members for life, but those only can attend its meetings who are summoned; therefore the Colonies might change their representatives as often as they pleased, though the appointment would confer a certain dignity for life. The sphere of this committee would be confined to advice on a few simple but grand subjects. Peace, war, diplomacy, the marshalling of the forces in time of war, the proper quota or contingent of forces to be furnished by each Colony for Imperial purposes, and the distribution of the Imperial garrisons and ships.

Holding as I do that a legislative union of the Empire is at present impossible, I yet believe that a Federal Union is quite practicable, and may be accomplished without difficulty by the formation of a Federal Council such as I have indicated.

In conclusion, Mr. FREELAND said he had felt a melancholy satisfaction in acceding to the request of the Council, and in reading this paper. Although he did not, as at present advised, concur in several of the opinions which his late friend had put forward, he was quite sure that they were the results of the deep and sincere convictions of a thoroughly honest English heart.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. ABRAHAM begged leave to move that the discussion on the paper be adjourned to some future day. After alluding in very feeling terms to the sudden death of Mr. Eddy, he said the subject

of the paper was so important that it was worthy of careful consideration, and as it had not been read in full, the meeting could not be prepared, he thought, to discuss it properly. He would suggest, therefore, that a paper should be prepared in which the opposite view to that taken by Mr. Eddy should be stated, and upon that the discussion might take place. If the members acceded to this view they could arrange amongst themselves who should prepare such a paper, and if no one else would do so, for the sake of promoting discussion he would write a short paper on the subject, and then the attack could be directed, not against Mr. Eddy's paper, but against the one so prepared, which he thought would be more respectful to his memory.

Rev. Dr. BADENOCH seconded the proposal, upon three grounds: (1) that which had just been adverted to, as being more respectful to the paper of their departed friend; (2) because of the great importance of the subject treated of; and (3) because owing to the inclemency of the weather there was such a small attendance.

The CHAIRMAN said there were several gentlemen present who he believed were prepared to speak, and he thought it would be as well to discuss the paper as far as the time allowed, before adjourning the meeting.

Mr. J. B. BROWN agreed in this view, as some gentlemen present might not be able to attend on another occasion.

Mr. MONTGOMERIE said that the suggestion made by Mr. Abraham had already been met by the Council, and a paper had been prepared on a kindred subject to that so ably treated by the late Mr. Eddy. It was not yet in the hands of the Council, and therefore he could not say whether it took an antagonistic view; but it certainly did not agree on all points with the principles now laid down. Upon that paper and the one now read a discussion might very well take place at a future meeting, and they would also be glad to hear a short paper from Mr. Abraham.

Mr. RUSDEN said he should himself be leaving England in the course of the next week, and should be very glad indeed to hear what could be said upon the paper.

Mr. ABRAHAM said, as an adjournment of the discussion was objected to he would withdraw his motion, and offer a few remarks on the paper. The Empire seemed to be at the present time in rather a bad way. In one part, not far from home, the centrifugal force was so great that although the inhabitants enjoyed all the honours, privileges, and dignities mentioned in the paper as unjustly withheld from the Colonies, and although they were represented in both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, they still clamoured for Home

Rule, and threatened all kinds of things unless they had a Parliament of their own. On the other hand, the Colonies, which enjoyed uncontrolled local self-government, were now represented as being influenced by such a very strong centripetal force, that nothing would satisfy them or secure their continued adhesion to the common centre unless they had an equal share of the offices, dignities, and favours which the Crown, it was alleged, distributed exclusively amongst the English, Irish, and Scotch who remained at home! As to Federation, Mr. Eddy admitted that it must be a gradual work, but that it was not at all practicable, and in the concluding part of the paper said it could only be attained by a Federal Council forming a branch of the Privy Council. But with regard to such an institution being established, he (Mr. Abraham) begged to remind them that the present Prime Minister objected in Parliament, in 1850, to the delegation of the duties of Secretary of State for the Colonies to any such Committee, especially if not members of either House of Parliament, as being unconstitutional, and he could not see how that difficulty could be got over. At any rate the people of England, and Parliament, would have to be educated before any such institution could be established. In the next place, they would have to overcome the feelings of rivalry and jealousy amongst the Colonists themselves, which have been already exhibited with regard to the office of Agent-General. So much so, that the proposition had been already made in one of the Australian Colonies, that this office should be held for three years only, so that leading Colonists might take it in turn to come home and enjoy the pleasure of a visit to the mother-country, and the salary of £2,000 per annum! Then, again, he (Mr. Abraham) contended that these Agents-General themselves did at present form a most efficient council, and were, in fact, individually consulted by the Colonial Office whenever it was necessary. The instances of Federation given in the paper were formed under circumstances totally unlike those in which the Australian and New Zealand Colonists stood, not only *inter se*, but with regard to the mother-country and the rest of the Empire. In the case of North America there was very good reason why a Federation should be formed, from exceptional circumstances to which he need not refer in detail; and in the next place, Canada in its local circumstances was very differently situated to all other Colonies. The whole states now forming the Dominion were situated on a series of lakes and the river and gulf of St. Lawrence, which formed one great highway, and they, like the present Empire of Germany, were territorially one. It was very natural under such circumstances, that a Federation

should be formed, but the example would not apply to other Colonies. With regard to Germany, he considered the union had been more that of consolidation than confederation. The question had been agitated for many years, and by no one more strenuously, if he recollected right, than by the late Baron Stockmar, in 1848, and it had at last been brought about in the presence of a common danger. But, with reference to the Colonies, there was no common danger; and Mr. Eddy admitted that, even if proved to be feasible, it must be a very gradual work. He quite agreed, however, with the observations, that distance was no obstacle to lasting union with the mother country, and that the Monarchy was the grand connecting tie. With regard to what he might call the wail—he had almost said, the whine—running through the paper as to offices, dignities, and decorations not being given equally to Colonists, he did not think it was warranted by facts. Two very eminent Ministers, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Childers—eminent for their great attainments and administrative powers—were Colonists, and if other gentlemen showed the same abilities, and educated themselves in the same manner, he had not the slightest doubt that in their turn the Ministers of this country would be very glad to avail themselves of their services. Then, again, Mr. Eddy raised the old cry of “family influence,” and choice limited solely to “a few heaven-descended families.” Surely that was a thing of the past! Were either Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli—to say nothing of Messrs. Bright and Forster—members of any such families in the sense clearly meant? He thought also that the language used with reference to the Colonists being “flouted” and looked down upon at home was not justified. In this country a great struggle for position was maintained; when any square foot of ground, so to speak, in society was vacated, or even before that, numbers were seen jostling each other to obtain the coveted spot. Colonists chose another sphere for their labours, they came back to England very much enriched, and were treated with all the attention they deserved, but they could not expect, all at once, to take up a position in society here equal to that which they filled in the Colony. With regard to honours and decorations, he thought the statements were equally unfounded. The serious charge made in the quotation from Mr. Herman Merivale was distinctly grounded by that gentleman on *fear*, and not upon *fact*. He could only say that a personal friend of his own, Major Heaphy, of the Auckland Volunteers, and chief of the New Zealand Survey Office, had been graciously and most deservedly decorated with the Victoria Cross for valour in the Maori war, and he believed there were other instances of a similar nature.

MR. R. G. HALIBURTON said he had listened with great pleasure to this paper, and also with great pain : with pleasure at finding this important subject brought before the consideration of the Institute, and with pain because he could not but recall the fact that the distinguished gentleman who had held the position of Secretary, and who had done so much for the Colonies and the Empire, was unable to attend and advocate the views he had so ably put forward. It would be unjust to his memory if, after having been associated with him so much as he had, he did not pay a passing tribute to his distinguished services. All present were aware of what Mr. Eddy had done for the Colonies since he had become Secretary of the Institute ; but some might not be aware of Mr. Eddy's services before he was associated with us. He (Mr. Haliburton) was convinced, however, that if Colonists in general were aware of the great future before them, the day would come when they would show by some permanent monument of a worthy character, the gratitude with which they regarded the services of the late Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute. The subject of the unity of the Empire, to which he had so ably devoted his time, was one of the most difficult tasks which could be discussed. England was growing up into an enormous Empire, and but few men were able to look forward to the future, or to see how to rule this vast heritage of Great Britain. For his own part he believed the proper policy at present was to let events work out the destiny which was inevitable, and he believed that the necessities of the mother country must ultimately be the opportunity of the Colonies. He did not use that expression in the Fenian sense, but it appeared to him that the Empire was at present ruled by a Legislature which was intended solely for National, and not for Imperial purposes. No legislature was harder worked or possessed abler men, but it was so overburdened with business that it continually had to pass over important measures for want of time to attend to them. Still it manfully stuck to the programme before it, and endeavoured to combine local and Imperial duties together, though utterly incompetent to deal with them all. It was simply, therefore, a question of time, and of arithmetical progression, when that burden should become so great that the Legislature would be compelled to stop, and to say that it was impossible for flesh and blood to get through all the work imposed upon it ; that there must be a legislature or council of some sort for the Empire, whilst local matters should be left to local legislatures. In fact, they would have to solve the same problem which had been worked out in Canada and in the United States ; and, therefore, he thought the

better way for the Colonists would be to let the Home Rulers, and the continual increase of business, force upon the people of England the conviction that they must reorganise the political institutions of the country. The question then arose whether in the meantime it might not be possible to adopt some measure that would meet the difficulty, and tide over the chances of dissolution until the Empire could be concentrated anew under an improved constitution. The vast Empire of Canada had sprung into maturity ready armed, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, had ceased to be a mere Colony, and now occupied a very different position from the Australian Colonies, though he hoped that these and the other Colonies would some day adopt the principle of confederation and occupy a similar position. The Dominion of Canada was in the position of a great Empire ; it had a country second or third in point of extent, and a population larger than that of Scotland ; it stood first in point of the treasures of its forests and of the sea, and also with regard perhaps to the more important mineral deposits of fuel on its eastern and western outlets. This great country, therefore, while perfectly satisfied to trust to England, might well say that the day must come when it would be entitled to have some voice in the administration of the affairs of the Empire, and that they should have a Secretary of State of their own, paid by them and representing them in this country, a man able to speak in a suitable representative character for the great interests entrusted to him by such a country. In this view he was backed up by the sentiments of practical working politicians in Canada—not sentimentalists, but men who had worked out its constitution. He thought that for the present, representation in the Cabinet must be the object to which Colonists should look. By that system Federation would be made, not a means of separating the Colonies, but of uniting them to the mother country ; and he believed some day there would be Secretaries of State for the various Australian, African, and Canadian groups of Colonies, by representing their confederated parliaments, just as Cabinet Ministers in England represented the English Parliament. There would be one from Canada and one probably from the Australian Colonies, and one from the African group, when they had learnt to get over their little provincial jealousies. He saw no reason why great groups of Colonies should not be represented, not by Agents-General, but by officials holding a rank suited to the great interests which they should represent, Secretaries of State, and members of the Privy Council who should not have to hang about the public offices in England without any defined position, but who should be able

to advocate in the presence of Her Majesty, and of Her Majesty's Ministers, the sentiments of the millions of people whom they would represent. In process of time he believed there would be three, or perhaps four, of such Secretaries of State, members of the Privy Council, who would, not on party but on Imperial and Colonial questions, be entitled to have a voice in the national councils. They could never control the Cabinet, of which they would only form a fraction, but they could speak the views, express the sentiments, and represent the experience of the great Colonial Empire, leaving local and party questions to be discussed and decided as at present. This he believed to be a practical measure, though it would be of slow growth, and he recommended members of the Institute to think more on the subject of representation in the Cabinet than of representation in Parliament or in any Council which might grow up in the future, but whose establishment could only take place in the very distant future indeed. This was a very difficult subject, and he was glad to hear objections brought forward, because it was full of objections; but he hoped that all gentlemen would try to speak the sentiments of Colonists, and avoid committing themselves to any extreme views which would only subject them to ridicule when published. They must realise the melancholy fact, which should fill them with anxious foreboding as to the future, that John Bull, while blindly persisting in wearing a garment (called the British Constitution) which was made for him in the days of his youth, and which he has long since outgrown, obstinately ignores the fact that he is rapidly increasing in his dimensions, and is daily becoming enormously stout. It is useless for us to try to convince him of the fact. Nothing but a melancholy catastrophe will induce him to confess the truth. Meanwhile the strain is becoming more and more severe, and something must ultimately give way. A crisis is coming, and is simply a question of time. We must await it patiently; and when it arrives we must, in his hour of need, be prepared to supply him with a substitute that will be more ample and convenient, and better adapted to his vast dimensions.

Rev. Dr. BADENOCH thought—to follow up the illustration just given—that some means should be taken to convince the public that John Bull was getting stout, and that his garments were unfit for him to wear. He entirely sympathised with what was said in the paper as to the treatment that Colonists had received from the Home Government, and thought if greater deference was paid to the knowledge and experience of those who came home to England, it would be much better for all parties, because many of these men

had had experience of a mode of life which was peculiar; and if they were encouraged there would be abler men come to the front, and Colonial affairs would be better managed. His principal object in rising, however, was to enunciate an idea which the late Mr. Eddy had talked over with him on many occasions, and which he thought the Council should endeavour to carry out, namely, that there should be in London a Colonial House, where under one roof might be gathered together the offices of all the agents of the Colonies; and it should contain a museum exhibiting the products of the respective Colonies, and also a library. He should much like this idea to be taken up; and he thought if the Agents-General of the respective Colonies would only capitalise the rent they paid for the miserable offices they previously occupied, it would go a great way towards providing a suitable building in London to represent the great Colonial Empire.

Sir ROBERT TORRENS, K.C.M.G., after paying a tribute to the memory of Mr. Eddy, said he agreed fully with what had been said, that it was impossible to give to the Colonies representation in the House of Commons, not altogether from the reasons assigned, but especially for one which applied equally against the proposal of Mr. Haliburton, which was, as he understood, that another Minister of State should be added to the Cabinet to represent each Colony or group of Colonies. The objection which seemed to him fatal to this proposal, as well as to representation in the House of Commons, was that the English constitution was one which had grown up to this position, that through the House of Commons representing the people, and the Ministry or Cabinet being dependent for their existence on the favour of the House of Commons, the will of the people of this country was directly represented and carried out. The Ministry fell so soon as they lost the confidence of the House of Commons, and therefore in what position would the Cabinet be having amongst its Ministers one or several Ministers representing the Colonies? Was not such a proposition incompatible with the constitution of the country as at present existing? Suppose with the existing Cabinet they had to-day one Minister for Canada, another for Australia, another for South Africa, and another for the West Indian Settlements, and assume that in the course of next session the Ministry lost the powerful position which it now held and went out of office, what was to become of the Ministers of State or members of the Cabinet who held that position, not by nomination of Her Majesty in deference to the will of the English Parliament, but by the Colonies? Were they to go on with the next administration, being of opposite

politics? Was the new Premier no longer to have the selection of his colleagues? And were the Colonial Cabinet Ministers only to be called in on questions regarding the Colonies, or were they to have a voice in Imperial matters, such as the question of peace or war? The whole scheme appeared to him full of difficulties, and wholly incompatible with the idea of what was called responsible Government. He thought all Mr. Haliburton desired might be obtained by another kind of representation, namely, that instead of having Agents-General, each Colony should have the power of sending to this country, not a Cabinet Minister, but a Diplomatic Minister or Envoy to represent its Government at the Colonial Office, with a recognised position and power equivalent to those exercised at the Foreign Office by the diplomatic representation of foreign states. He thought that the positions of Agents-General had considerably improved within the last few years. In former times they were only consulted for the benefit of the Colonial Office, when they thought their approval would be given to any scheme devised by the Colonial Minister, whereas on any question vitally affecting the interests of the Colonies—such, for instance, as that of “transportation”—their advice was never asked, unless it were believed to be in accordance with the crotchets of the Minister of the day. That state of things had happily to a great extent passed away, owing, he believed, in some degree to the influence of this Society bringing about combination of Colonial interests. He maintained that the idea he had suggested by which the Colonies should be represented diplomatically, to be easy of attainment, as it would be more in accordance with the constitution, as it would be at any time in the power of any Colony to remove or replace a diplomatic—a power which never could be conceded in the case of a Minister of Her Majesty’s Cabinet. It had been objected to this proposition, that since foreign states sent ministers plenipotentiary, to give the same privilege to Colonies would be, not to draw them closer to the mother country, but to thrust them further off—in fact, to make them foreign states. To this he would reply, there might be something in it if the change were calculated to place the Colony in an inferior position to that of the foreign state; but his proposition had the reverse effect, of raising the Colony to a position equal to that of a foreign state, and giving it substantial representation on questions of peace, and war, and the like, in the only way consistent with the constitution.

Mr. J. B. BROWN said the great difficulty of cementing together the Empire and Colonies, and bringing about a proper amalgama-

tion, was these little pettifogging views that one man took from one corner of the question, and another from another corner, whereas they ought to consider the great whole. He saw no difficulty at all in the scheme Mr. Haliburton had suggested for appointing Secretaries of State. There was no difficulty in having a Secretary of State for Ireland, or a Lord Advocate for Scotland; and, as Mr. Eddy had pointed out in his paper, distance was in these days of steam and telegraph no obstacle. With regard to changes of Ministry, the English Cabinet went out on domestic questions with which, as he understood, the Colonial representatives could not intermeddle. He begged to say that he knew almost every inch of Canada; and he was very sorry that English statesmen were so little acquainted with it. He only wished that Mr. Gladstone would pay that country a visit, for he was sure it would enlarge his mind, and he would be better fitted to be Minister of this great country; and the same with Mr. Disraeli, for he did not speak in any way as a partisan. But he could not entertain for one moment the proposition of Sir Robert Torrens, that the Colonies should send ambassadors, mere toys, men with a certain brief authority making their appearance on certain State occasions, sitting in certain places of the Legislature, but having practically no influence in the councils of the nation. The Colonies could not be compared with foreign countries, even France or Germany, for they had far greater interest in being properly represented, which, as he conceived, they could not be by simply sending ambassadors to the English Court.

Mr. CONNOLLY (a visitor) having made some remarks upon the subject of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Youl) in summing up the discussion, said that he was glad to find that Mr. Abraham was not opposed to the unity of the Empire. He had certainly misunderstood the drift of his remarks. Mr. Abraham had alluded to the Agents-General as being very proper representatives of the Colonies; but it had always occurred to him that they only represented the interest of the particular Colony which they came from, whereas what he thought desirable in the unity of the Empire would be that they should all form a council together, where they might consult as to that which was beneficial to the interests of the whole group. In conclusion, he proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Freeland for reading the paper.

The resolution having been passed unanimously,

Mr. FREELAND said it had been a source of great satisfaction to him to come up from the country to read the paper, but as the

hour was now so far advanced he would not detain the meeting with any observations of his own, but would reserve them for the adjourned discussion. He hoped that in the meantime the suggestions which had been thrown out, not only in the paper but by the various speakers, would be carefully weighed.

The SECRETARY then announced that at the next meeting a Paper would be read by Mr. Labillière on "The Permanent Unity of the Empire." He also called attention to the fact that it was proposed to subscribe for a testimonial to be presented to Mrs. Eddy, the subscription being limited to £1 1s. each. Several names had already been given, and the list will lie at the office of the Institute.

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary Meeting of the Session was held at the rooms of the Victoria Institute, 10, Adelphi-terrace, W.C., on Tuesday evening, January 19th, 1875.

SIR ROBERT TORRENS, in the absence of His Grace the Duke of Manchester through indisposition, occupied the chair.

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG, Honorary Secretary, having read the minutes of proceedings at the last meeting, which were confirmed,

THE CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Labillièrre to read the paper of which notice had been given; expressing at the same time his deep regret at the absence of the Duke of Manchester, who took so great an interest in the subject for discussion.

MR. LABILLIÈRE said he could not resume the discussion commenced by his paper without saying a word about Mr. Eddy. Much had deservedly been said of the energy and devotion which that gentleman had displayed in connection with the Institute; and he was certain that that energy and devotion had for their main-spring a very high motive, namely, that of promoting the permanent unity of the Empire. The paper read at the last meeting was a valuable legacy left by Mr. Eddy in support of that great cause. In principle, the paper which he (Mr. Labillièrre) had now to submit was the same as that of Mr. Eddy, although it would be observed that in some points of detail it differed. Mr. Eddy only went the length of advocating the appointment of a certain number of Colonial Members of the Privy Council, whilst he (Mr. Labillièrre) endeavoured to point out that a complete and perfect union of the Empire may be maintained in the future by means of a Federal Parliament and Executive. He then proceeded to read the following paper:—

THE PERMANENT UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

Those who watch with interest the rapidly changing conditions of the relations between England and her Colonies, must be struck with the progress made within five or six years in what is popularly known as the Colonial, but should more correctly be called the Imperial, question. Within the period mentioned that question has been much more frequently discussed than ever it was before, and has occupied a larger share of the serious attention of intelligent men: many doubts have been cleared up; what the question really means is becoming more generally understood; and the

official tone of the Imperial Government towards the Colonies has changed from ungenial politeness to decided heartiness.

The Imperial question practically resolves itself into two heads of inquiry: 1st. Is it desirable that the Empire shall remain permanently united? and if so, 2nd, what must be the ultimate bond of political union—the form of Government which is to weld it into one great power?

With regard to the first, nothing is more calculated to excite the amazement of foreigners, who admire the Empire of England and envy her its possession, than that any Englishman should counsel, or even tacitly countenance, any policy tending to its disintegration.

Is there a German who loves his country, from Prince Bismarck down to the most insignificant politician, who would not give much, and strive hard, to make the new German Empire like our British Empire, which some Englishmen think should be allowed to fall to pieces? Though but few hold such an opinion, the maxim is too true of the nation, that we do not adequately appreciate what we possess.

A few years ago an attempt was made to form a school, to teach in the name of superior wisdom that our soundest policy is one which, within a generation or two, would reduce the great British Empire to the limits of these little islands. These teachers started with Adam Smith's description of the unsound Colonial policy of the past; and, seemingly, were so scared by that old and unwise system as not to be content with its abandonment, but they would have run off so far from it as to carry newer and wiser principles to lengths equally unsound. Our grandfathers having done unwise things, we are told to show how much more sensible we are by rushing into the opposite extreme; they having by a most fallacious policy bound and shackled the Colonies, we should embrace the opposite fallacy, and sever every tie connecting them with England.

The Disunionist school has made but little way since its master, Professor Goldwin Smith, propounded his theses some dozen years ago. Since he wrote, events have belied his anticipations. His case is weaker now than it even was when first stated. The expense of the Colonies to this country has been greatly reduced;* twelve years' growth has been added to their strength, to their

* Mr. Hamilton, in his paper read before the Statistical Society, gives a table, which shows that the cost in 1870 and 1871, the two lowest years, was £1,319,439 and £1,045,212 respectively, and in 1864, the highest, £3,140,176. He also proves that in nineteen years, from 1853 to 1871, the Imperial revenue derived from the Colonial trade was £45,000,000, and the Imperial expenditure only £43,000,000.

ability to defend themselves, to the weight they could contribute to the power of a consolidated Empire ; wisely or unwisely, British troops have been withdrawn from the Colonies ; happily Canada has ceased to be a probable, and has become only a remotely possible, source of danger to this country. We have entered on an era of amity with the United States ; and France, the only other nation that could possibly have assailed England in what we are told is her weakest point—her Colonies—has no longer the power, even had she the will, to do so. The unworthy fears with which Professor Smith tried to frighten England ingloriously to abandon her Colonial Empire have become more unreal, and its continued growth and development must still more palpably prove them to have been baseless.

But if fear will not prevail with England, perhaps avarice may ; so, in the name of economy, she is told to rid herself of her splendid heritage. The Empire does not “pay,” and it is not worth having if its profits and advantages cannot be clearly demonstrated upon balance-sheets : no indirect claims of advantage can be admitted ; nothing that cannot be computed in pounds, shillings, and pence. But to meet this so-called argument of economy upon its own low level : even were the cost of the Colonies to England a few hundred thousand pounds a year, till they become able to bear the whole expense of their own defence, would not their independence at once increase the expenditure of this country in time of peace, there being no greater certainty of the cost and danger of war being lessened to her ? Would she not have to pay ministers and consuls where she now sends governors at no cost whatever ? Would she not have to maintain war-vessels to protect her commerce just as at present ; but with the additional expense of having to form and keep up fortified harbours and coaling stations, now provided for her by the Colonies, whose ports are as much hers in time of peace, and would be as exclusively hers in war—as hostile to her foes—as if situated in the United Kingdom ? Are not such advantages capable of computation in a good round sum of money ? Were it necessary to do so, would it not even be wise in England to spend for the next few years more than she does upon Colonial defences, if afterwards the Colonies, when more populous and powerful, would contribute their due proportion to the joint defence of the Empire ? Those economists who for the sake of saving would get rid of the Colonial Empire, always remind me of the illustrious Mr. Paterfamilias, whose better half, and wiser half, is described as complaining that her husband’s savings were always so terribly expensive.

Those who counsel disintegration, put their case in another equally unattractive aspect. They entirely agree with those who think it was wise of England to found Colonies, and to keep them till they have passed a certain stage of infancy; but when the time comes that she can trade with them just as well if independent, the sooner they separate from her the better: as to their being people of her own blood and language, as to their union with her adding to her prestige, it is all sentiment; we ought to be superior to such moonshine. The only true standard of value is money, the light to see everything in is the colour of gold, the glitter of guineas. We have only to state this so-called economical argument in plain English to make it self-repellant. England will never become such a nation of shopkeepers, in the worst sense of the term, as to be utterly regardless of the great moral and material advantages she may derive from preserving in union with herself the whole of that Empire at the head of which Providence has placed her. Should the Decline and Fall of the British Empire have to be recorded by some future Gibbon, shall it be told to our perpetual shame that such a catastrophe was occasioned by a petty, peddling, penny-wise, pound-foolish policy?

But let us see if the advocates of the unity of the Empire have not the principles of true economy on their side. We have already seen that for England the independence of the Colonies would permanently occasion expenses not at present existing, and would not insure her the certainty that wars would be of less danger and cost to her. The expenses of the Colonies, too, would be augmented by separation. They would have to organise a costly diplomatic and consular service, to largely increase their land and sea defences, to endeavour to create navies, unless they were content to trust for safety to their insignificance as tenth-rate powers. A certain permanent increase of expense, and no additional security, would therefore immediately accrue to them as well as to the mother country, were they now to separate.

But what of the future? What will it be for England if she be isolated? The development of her manufactures within the present century has given her a population she cannot feed, and for whose support she has to send abroad from £60,000,000 to £80,000,000 per annum. The cost of living has rapidly become more expensive, and must continue to increase; so that it is very doubtful if England will be able permanently to keep her population up to its present number. It is evident she cannot do so unless her manufactures and trade continue as highly prosperous as they now are. Should they decline from any cause, such, for instance,

as the gradual exhaustion of the supply of coal or iron, the inhabitants of this country must considerably diminish. They can never attain the number the United States will possess within the lifetime of men now living. For England to be separated from the rest of her Empire, will be to remain stationary, or comparatively so, while new countries grow up to and outstrip her in population, wealth, and power. The United States have gained considerably upon her within the last few years; their inhabitants, according to the last census, numbering thirty-eight millions and a half.

Then, too, if the Colonies became independent, what figure would they present beside this great young power? When would Australia, great and populous as she is destined to become, attain a position of anything like equality with America? She has not yet two millions of inhabitants. In what century, then, could we expect the territories of the great transatlantic Republic to become so overcrowded that the rate of increase of population will be sufficiently checked to allow Australia to overtake America?

United in a great British Imperial Union, we shall in the future stand in a position of equality beside the American Union, or any other great power: divided, neither England nor any of the Colonies, for generations, will be able to do so, and we must at no distant date resign the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon race to our American cousins. Far be it from us to think the growth of the United States a danger to us, or to regard them with the least jealousy. A laudable pride, however, would make us desire and strive that in the future ours shall be a great British Empire, which, if its union be cemented and power consolidated by means of some federal organisation, may be as strong and influential—a British union which shall never be the foe, but always the rival of the American Union in carrying forward that civilisation of the world which Providence seems to have destined the Anglo-Saxon race to accomplish. A French writer has said that the world of the future will be Anglo-Saxon. If so, it will be better that the race shall form two great nations than one first-class Power and a number of inferior States.

It must obviously be much more economical in the future for England and the Colonies to contribute fair proportions to the defences of a United Empire, than for each separately to maintain its own. The ships—though for years of little account as the navies of independent States—which the different groups of Colonies could contribute to that maritime force which would be the chief strength of the Empire, would, acting together and with the fleets of England, make up a mighty and irresistible navy, with which we

should be able to keep the oceans of the world free for our commerce, and to prescribe peace upon them.

Another important economic consideration, to put it on the lowest ground, is that union will mean peace as well as strength; for the greater the number of independent states in the world, particularly if they be small ones, the more are the chances of war increased. So great a power as the Confederated Empire would become would not be aggressive; it would be large enough not to covet its neighbours' dominions, and strong enough not to feel that weakness which sometimes makes nations go to war to test their strength, or to show they are not afraid to fight.

We are sometimes told that the persistence of some of the Colonies in the policy of protection will be fatal to our permanent union, and some indignation was expressed at the idea of the Australian Colonies wanting to adopt differential duties in each other's favour. It would be easy to conceive of a Federation, even had we no existing example of one in Switzerland, in which the provincial governments might confer exclusive privileges upon local populations. Most objectionable as such a policy undoubtedly is, there is no reason to prevent the States in which it obtains from being united in a Federation. Continuance in union is more likely to lead to the removal of such invidious distinctions than separation, which must make them permanent and more numerous. Would it not also be better to recognise differences as to the truths of free-trade than quarrel about them? And if we can agree to continue united, and, for the purposes of mutual support, weld ourselves into an Empire in reality as well as in name, let us not think of disputing the right of the provincial legislatures to adjust their own revenues and manage their local affairs in their own way, without seeking to impose upon them, save by the force of conviction, a uniform free-trade policy. Were England to separate from the Colonies on account of protection, would they be as likely to adopt a wiser system than if she remain in union with them?

Adam Smith describes trade restrictions existing in his time, not only between these three kingdoms, but even between the people of England themselves, which were much more incompatible with the union of the same people under one central government than any restrictions imposed by Colonial tariffs. To say that people of the same State cannot remain united and impose taxes upon each other, is also opposed to present experience. On the Continent octroi duties are levied by towns, and free cities exist with exemptions from taxation not enjoyed by the rest of the State. But however opposed to sound principles of political

economy it may be thus to favour particular communities in the same State, there is nothing in doing so inconsistent with their being united under one government. Now, in principle, the taxation of imports from other parts of the Empire by the Government of any of its provinces, is similar to the foreign octroi, and the favour shown by some Colonies to their own productions is sufficiently analogous for my argument to the system of free cities or ports. Therefore, though strongly disapproving of protection, we should be unreasonable in our condemnation of it were we to hold that it must make all the difference between our permanent union being possible or impossible, desirable or undesirable.

The wish of contiguous Colonies to adopt differential duties in each other's favour is perfectly reasonable, and only the existence of protection could excite anything like hostility to the idea. It is extremely inconvenient for Colonies, like those of Australia, with artificial boundary lines hundreds of miles long, often in unpeopled regions, to keep up a strict custom-house system, and without desiring to make any distinction to the disadvantage of their fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire, they may well seek to modify or abolish it, levying duties, whether free trade or protectionists, only upon imports from the seaboard. It is quite a different matter, and would be incompatible with the Imperial relation, to allow differential duties and reciprocity treaties between provinces of the Empire and governments outside it, whereby foreign goods should be admitted on terms more favourable than those extended to British trade.

In the preceding remarks I do not wish to make the least excuse for protection, to which I am everywhere most decidedly opposed.

Every available argument by which it is attempted to prove continued union with the Colonies undesirable for England, and many weighty reasons besides, may be applied with greater force to the possession of India. Indeed, Professor Goldwin Smith has declared the acquisition of that country to have been a mistake, and that its abandonment would be desirable, could England with honour free herself from the obligations she has contracted to govern it. And, certainly, India has been in the past, and is likely to prove in the future, a more fruitful source of danger and disaster to England than the Colonies ever were, or can possibly be.

Were the people of England and of the Colonies to be persuaded by those who counsel them, with arguments of fear or of avarice, to abandon the Empire, Burke's famous hyperbolic sentence would become literally true of them—"the age of chivalry is gone. That

of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever."

Having, as far as the space I can afford to that head of my subject will permit, touched upon the leading points showing that the permanent union of the Empire is desirable, and endeavoured to prove the objections to it to be unworthy and unreal, I shall now, as briefly as possible, consider what form of Imperial government will ultimately be indispensable. The more permanent bonds of union which will be required when the Colonies attain a more mature growth are still too little thought of by most reformers of Imperial relations, who continue considering what will be required for the short transition period between the infancy and maturity of the Colonies, forgetting that that period is rapidly passing away while they leisurely devise policies for it which, if ever matured, will never be needed.

That cannot be called statesmanship which would only deal with the Colonial question of the moment. It is time to think what may be required twenty, thirty, fifty years hence, and shape accordingly our policy. We may wisely determine what direction to take, and steadily steer in it, even if the point for which we are bound be many a long day distant from us. The only ultimate goal for us, if the union of our Empire is to be real and lasting, is Federation. "Political inventiveness" may possibly produce new systems of government, but that is the only known form which can weld the Empire into one great power, giving all its people a voice in whatever policy concerns them, and utilising for their peace and security the great strength which, if solidified, they will be able to command.

Federation implies that there shall be a central Parliament and Executive of the Empire, like those of America, Germany, or Switzerland. This paper cannot be prolonged to examine the different forms of Federal Government. In my paper on "Imperial and Colonial Federalism," read at the Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and published in the "Discussions on Colonial Questions," I have endeavoured to sketch out a system of Federation, the outlines of which are, I believe, capable of being filled in. I point out how a Parliament of the Empire might be elected, each Colony, or group of Colonies, having a due proportion of members chosen either by direct election or by its Parliament, and I express a decided preference for the former mode of selection.

The only obstacle suggested to our Federal union not affecting existing Confederations, is that oceans would roll between its several portions, and that its extremities would be more remote

than those of other Confederations. In reply it may be asked, Is the federal union of Canada with England impossible, because Canadian representatives would have to cross the Atlantic in steamers, whilst that of California with the United States is quite practicable, because representatives can make about an equally long journey by railway from San Francisco to Washington? And would the fact that the voyage from Australia to England takes six weeks or two months, instead of a week or fortnight, make all the difference between Federation being practicable and impracticable?

In fact, I believe that the separation of its territories by sea might even strengthen a federal union, by necessitating less interference with provincial self-government. For instance, the Western and Eastern States of America seriously differ about free-trade and protection; and both being on the same mainland, each cannot have the policy it prefers. Did a sea separate them they might have different tariffs, and thus a danger to the Confederation would be removed without its strength as a great power being impaired.

In his paper on the Colonies in the "Cobden Club Essays," Professor Thorold Rogers takes the same view of the objection of distance as that for which I now contend, and also in my paper on "Imperial and Colonial Federalism." Speaking of Colonial representation in the British Parliament, he says: "There is no difficulty in carrying out the project because the Colony is distant from the seat of government;" and that Federation "would be undertaken if the British Parliament were less of a Chamber in which peddling interests were discussed and settled by compromise, and more of a Senate where great questions of policy were debated and determined." Professor Rogers, like many others, rejects the idea of Federation because he conceives it to mean representation of the Colonies in the English Parliament. And certainly they could expect but little benefit from having a few members in an Assembly which almost exclusively devotes itself to the provincial concerns of the United Kingdom, and in which really Imperial questions are liable to be decided by a count-out. To give all parts of the Empire a voice in its Government, a truly Imperial Parliament would have to be created; the present Parliament being left to occupy itself with the concerns of Great Britain and Ireland, which monopolise its attention and supply it with more business than it can conveniently get through. Representation of the Colonies in it could not be made sufficiently federal in its character unless the number of members of the House of Commons, already large enough, were increased, or those for the United Kingdom diminished, in order to make room for a due proportion of Colonial representatives.

Neither would it be desirable that in those numerous questions exclusively affecting these kingdoms, any but their own representatives should take part. The only conceivable advantage of having a few members for the Colonies in the English Parliament would be that their presence would be an admission of the federal principle, and might demonstrate the necessity and stimulate the desire throughout the Empire for a complete Federation.

An Imperial Council like that for India is another expedient suggested by some who do not yet see their way to Federation. But of whatever value such an institution might for the present be, it would be perfectly inadequate as a permanent central governing body for the Empire. It could be entrusted with no powers of legislation or of raising an Imperial revenue; it would give the Colonies no such real voice in Imperial policy as that to which their increasing populations will render them entitled. In fact, the proposals to have Colonial representatives in Parliament, an Imperial Council, Colonial members of the Privy Council, and Secretaries of State sent by the Colonies to sit in the English Cabinet, must all, however valuable they might be for a time, prove only temporary expedients, not to be recommended, but as means to produce something much more complete and permanent. Their existence would soon demonstrate their own insufficiency; and the only good to be hoped from them would be that they might assist to create and then make way for a real federal organisation.

From the list of possible suggestions just referred to, I think the proposal should be excluded that the Colonies should have in this country representatives similar to the ambassadors sent by Foreign Powers. As one born and brought up in the Colonies, I should strongly object to anything sounding and looking so like Colonial independence. May the most marked distinction ever exist between foreign ministers and the representatives of the Colonies in this country, whatever may be their status!

It may perhaps be said, How can we expect Colonies to agree to the greater scheme of Confederation with the mother country and the rest of the Empire, when their jealousies prevent them from forming federal unions among themselves? Canada would not have united herself in a confederation had she not felt the need of that strength which union alone could give her; Australia, not so urgently feeling the want of a federal government, does not seem inclined to form one, though it would be of undoubted advantage to her. The objection seems to me capable of being more briefly answered than stated. Confederation implies a certain amount of concession, and young communities may resolutely refuse to give

way to each other, though they would not have the slightest hesitation in yielding precedence to the old country; so that really it would probably be more easy to form an Imperial than an inter-Colonial Confederation. Besides, the Colonies would feel that it would add to their prestige to be taken into council, to be admitted to a share with the old country in the government of the Empire.

Imperial Federalism and Irish Home Rule are in no way necessarily connected. In fact, I am decidedly opposed to the latter—a question with which, however, the inhabitants of the United Kingdom should alone be left to deal.

The whole sum of the matter seems to be, that the maintenance of the unity of the Empire is desirable, and consequently a central government will be required to represent all its portions, giving each that weight which, from its importance and the share it will take in the defence of the Empire, shall be its due in all Imperial questions, such as peace, war, defence, foreign affairs, and the laws of naturalisation, domicile, and marriage. If this is to be effected, our children, if not ourselves, must see the establishment of a real Federation with a Parliament and Executive, as distinct from and superior to those of England and of the different Colonies as the new Legislature and Government of United Germany are distinct from and superior to the Chambers and Ministries of Prussia and Bavaria, or the Federal Governments of the American Union or of Switzerland are distinct from and superior to those of the States or Cantons of which these confederations are respectively composed. Such a federal government need not interfere with the present full and free control of the provincial governments over local affairs. We should not perhaps at first attempt to set up a very complete federal government. Our object may probably be best reached by beginning with the simplest form of Federation we can devise—perhaps one of those systems which I have spoken of as temporary expedients—always keeping in view and moving forward towards something more perfect; for the history of federalism in America, Germany, and Switzerland, where it has had as many and greater difficulties to surmount as any it will with us have to encounter, shows that the tendency of the system when once it is planted is to take root, grow, and ripen into greater perfection. Its introduction among us would assuredly create throughout our Empire an enthusiasm for and loyalty to our union, as strong as that of Americans for theirs, when it became apparent to what a position Federation would elevate both England and the Colonies, what strength, what greatness, what security, what peace it would, with the blessing of God, ensure us. Proud as we all are of the glori-

ous old Union Jack, of being British subjects, how much more proud might we justly be could we regard that flag as the emblem of a still greater union, could we call ourselves citizens of a still greater British Empire, of an Imperial Confederation of which the Sovereign of England should be Empress or Emperor.

I have endeavoured to give a slight sketch of a question upon which many volumes might be written and spoken. Confederation is, I believe, a perfectly practicable policy for the future, if we only maintain and develop throughout the Empire the strong Imperial spirit and warm affection for the great principle of unity, of which we find in various quarters so many happy indications. Without Confederation I cannot conceive how we can ultimately get on; how we can give our new and rising communities the voice in Imperial affairs to which a few years' additional growth will entitle them; how we can combine our defences and utilise our strength as one great united Power. The Federalists alone show how all this can be effected; they, and they only, have a clear, definite, and satisfactory policy for the future. Those who reject that policy suggest positively nothing instead. They can see their way for no distance before them, and can only hope that out of the mist in which they are involved, they may, somehow or other, stumble upon a right track.

In the region of politics this question towers immeasurably above all others in importance and grandeur; it is the greatest which statesmanship can ever touch. Upon its skilful handling depends nothing less than the momentous issue whether, within a century, the greatest Empire the world can ever see shall be made or marred. The thought is supremely impressive. In its presence all petty provincialisms, strifes, jealousies, party differences should shrink into fitting insignificance. England by an unhappy policy lost her first Colonies; she has now a second great opportunity, such as never before fell to the lot of a nation, and certainly can never occur again, of permanently fixing her borders far beyond her narrow sea-girt isles, and incorporating in indissoluble union with these ancient kingdoms, vast new dominions in various climes and in different hemispheres.

Seeing, then, that the question of its permanent unity is of such vital importance to our whole British race, it is time to think of and form some definite ideas and plans for its future organisation. Nothing could be more practical. Only on the most superficial, shallow view of the question can it be said not to be so, or that we ought to postpone beginning to think of it. Postpone, indeed! considering this question, with Canada progressing as she is, with

Australia almost doubling her population in a dozen years, with South Africa advancing with increasing speed, with the whole Empire growing so rapidly that only in the eloquent language of the famous Burke can we find words to describe its progress: "Fiction lags after truth; invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren;" and in another passage: "For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me to be rather ancient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the Colonies of yesterday."

That great statesman, and perhaps greatest of orators, whose words are even more descriptive of our present circumstances than they were of those to which he applied them, may be said to have been the father of the great principle of Imperial unity, which his immortal speeches unmistakably breathe forth. Those who reflect so little on the progress of the past, and have so far failed to learn from it the lessons it should teach respecting the future, as to tell us it is too soon to speak and think about Imperial organisation, should study Burke's grand picture of the progress of the British Empire of his time, in which he describes how the commerce of England to her Colonies alone had grown in 1772 to £6,509,000, only £485,000 less than the whole export trade of England in 1704.

With as much truth as eloquence Burke spoke of this sixty-eight years of the progress of England and her Colonies. How, were he now living, would he describe the much greater progress of a much shorter period? How would he speak of the sure development of the next few years? What a theme the permanent unity of our present Empire would be for him! How his eloquent voice would be raised against the ignoble idea of disintegration! How it would arouse those who sleep over, and leave unthought of, the great question—How our future union can best be organised?

I must, in conclusion, expressly guard myself against the charge of wishing to see Confederation forced on before its time,—and upon this point I believe all Imperial Federalists are agreed. Nothing is further from our desire; few things could be more fatal to our object. We do not think of plucking the fruit before it is ripe; but we do want this question, and the public opinion of the Empire respecting it, to grow and ripen in due season, under the healthy and maturing influences of timely consideration and discussion. May the Author of all peace and goodwill bless and preserve the unity of the people of our Empire!

DISCUSSION.

Mr. WESTGARTH said, what first struck him with regard to the subject was, that there were two questions raised by Mr. Labillière. The first was, what was desirable in theory; and next, what was possible in practice. When they considered the political history of their country, it would be seen that they did nothing by leaps out of their groove, except upon special occasions. They went on long making modifications to suit the wants of the time; and that seemed to him the great difficulty in the way of accomplishing Mr. Labillière's object. He could not conceive this old fashioned country coming to a resolution to constitute an Imperial Parliament of the kind Mr. Labillière pointed out, superseding itself, and making itself simply a Parliament for a part of the Empire. Did any of them who had thought over the political history of the country, and the political character of the people, suppose that such a thing could arise, unless they were wholly changed? He was glad Mr. Labillière opened a door by which they might make approaches towards his idea without attempting revolution, and that it was by progressive steps. As he understood Mr. Labillière, he said that there might be the introduction of the representation of the Colonies in Parliament. He thought in that way they might do something, and it was, in fact, a way of making a beginning. Whether it was to end in Federation, which he admired, or in some other way of keeping the Colonies together, he could not say; but it seemed to him it was the only mode which could be adopted, consistently with our political history and the political character of the people. As a step, he would have one individual representing each group of our Colonies brought into the Imperial Parliament. There might be, for instance, one individual for India, another for Australia, another for the Canadian Dominion, and it would be a beginning. He thought it quite possible that afterwards they might get into a system of representing the Colonies, even though they began in that way: in other words, they might progress. But then there came a difficulty with regard to India and Australia, which was, that they must increase the representation so much that the home Government would object to it, and there would arise a necessity for doing something else, which would be a chance for Federation. One great difficulty was the unwillingness of the Colonies. He believed that the home Government had less objection than the Colonial Government and people.

Mr. ARCHIBALD HAMILTON (of the Cape) said he had not the

advantage of hearing the paper of Mr. Eddy ; but as regards Mr. Labillière's paper, he thought they must all agree that it was extremely valuable and eloquent. The views expressed may not be immediately adopted, but will remain for further discussion and final adoption, after some of the intermediate plans have been tried for drawing the Colonies closer to the mother country. With reference to Mr. Labillière's remarks concerning Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Thorold Rogers, he would remind the meeting that they were prominent members of an energetic party, which contended urgently for retrenching the Empire on the score of economy. He had thought some time ago that the true way to meet these gentlemen, was to tackle them upon their own ground by figures and statistics. Therefore, with a considerable amount of labour, he had looked over the facts of the case, and some two years since had read a paper upon the subject before the Statistical Society. He thought he had shown that the Colonies were not only valuable to the people of this country for their trade, but likewise to the Exchequer. The first thing he desired to draw attention to was, that when they talked of the export trade, and the benefits which the people of this country derive from it, they must not look, as is generally done, merely to the merchants' profit. The Australian Colonies took ten or twelve millions per annum of our British produce, and nearly the whole of the British manufactures which were sent out went to make up the aggregate income of the people of Great Britain. The miner and the manufacturer got their profit. They paid wages, which maintained the labourers and artisans. The railways that brought the goods to London made a part of their income out of it. The very porter who rolled the goods on board got his living out of it ; and the shipowner likewise lived by it. Therefore, it was indisputable that almost the whole value of their exports of British produce was, in point of fact, so much added to the income of the people of this country. Ever since the year 1861, when a Committee of the House of Commons sat upon the question of our Colonial expenses, the policy had been laid down and steadily acted upon, of withdrawing troops from the Colonies to lessen expenditure. He had taken out the value of the exports from Great Britain to our Colonies proper, not including, of course, the East Indies, or any of our naval and military possessions, and he found that from the year 1858 to 1871 inclusive, we had exported 450 millions sterling of British produce, which was 450 millions into the pockets of the people of this country. Now Mr. Thorold Rogers himself showed that the most trustworthy estimates that had been made of the amount of taxes, which the Exchequer draws from the people of this country, had been variously

stated at from 10 to 20 per cent. upon our total income. The expenses of the Colonies proper during these years amounted, by Parliamentary returns, to 43 millions in all; so that taking Mr. Thorold Rogers's lowest estimate, the Treasury had drawn 10 per cent. on 450 millions (added to our aggregate income by the Colonial trade), being 45 millions, or a surplus of two millions by the operation. Again: taking the year 1871 by itself. The exports to the Colonies amounted to 26 millions sterling. The Treasury would levy upon that portion of the income of the people 10 per cent., which would be £2,600,000, which the Treasury in the year 1871 derived from the trade of the Colonies. The expenses for the Colonies for that year were only £1,110,000; so that the Treasury was enriched to the extent of a million and a half, in consequence of the income which the people of this country derived from the trade with the Colonies. It might be said that the trade with the Colonies would go on to the same extent if they were separated from the mother country. There were various answers which might be given to that. For instance, we should have no security that we should not have differential duties, and our trade would thus be seriously injured. He had gone closely into a comparison of the trade between the Colonies and other countries, and he found that an infinitely larger proportion of the trade of the Colonies was with Great Britain, as compared with the trade carried on by foreign countries. Further, the Colonies which originally belonged to foreign nations, as Canada and the Cape of Good Hope, although they had full liberty to import goods from France and Holland, in fact derived more than nine-tenths of their imports from Great Britain, which he contended they would not do if they ceased to be British Colonies.

Mr. MICHIE (from Victoria), after complimenting Mr. Labillière on the excellence of his Paper, both as to its matter and form, said, that for many years past he had listened with great interest to much that had on various occasions been advanced on this very important subject, and he could say, that if it were regarded merely as a question of sentiment, Mr. Labillière could not more ardently than himself (Mr. Michie) desire to see an actual confederation of the British Empire. But he must confess that in attempting to deal with the subject practically, it did not appear to him, either from the speeches he had heard, or the papers he had read, that the difficulties that occurred to his own mind had ever been satisfactorily met. At the same time, he did not mean to say that these difficulties were insurmountable; but, as they were not yet disposed of to his satisfaction, he, of the three legitimate states of mind, belief, unbelief, and doubt, owned to the

latter state, and strongly doubted the feasibility of any project for confederation that as yet had been brought under his attention. ^ Let them take Mr. Westgarth's proposal to start with. Suppose the first step taken, and his Colonial Representatives in the House of Commons. In any plan that might be devised, they could only be a very insignificant proportion of that assembly, and the subjects to which they would probably principally address themselves would not, perhaps, so much as they would think just and necessary, command the attention and the sympathies of the general body. So far as his own observation had gone, he had generally found that in discussions in that assembly, on even very great interests, which happened to be remote from the centre of government, the interest of the audience diminished as the distance increased. A Colonial or an Indian debate was the signal for dinner or the club, and Colonial members would be left to themselves—a little Mutual Improvement Society. Here and there, indeed, they might have some Henry Fawcett, who would deal effectively with such questions; but then debators like these were few and far between, for it required that a man's intellect, and he had almost said his conscience, should be trained to the consideration of such subjects, to enable him to take an interest in them proportionate to their importance. Although, however, a few Colonial Representatives could have but very little, if any, influence in such a deliberative assembly, they would bear in mind that the mere fact of their being there at all would be an admission that the interests they represented were to be bound by whatsoever results their legislation might involve, whether those results related to Imperial or Colonial interests. And here came in some very serious considerations indeed. We must not forget that some of the most important of these Colonies had Parliaments of their own, and large powers of legislation, with any interference in which they were naturally, and very properly, jealous. What assurance could they have at any time that their rights would not be disregarded or infringed? How draw the line between what we call Imperial questions and Colonial questions? Take the important question, for instance, of peace or war. What influence would or could Colonial Representatives in the House of Commons have on such a question? so little at any time, that he remembered, some years back, Sir Charles Duffy proposed that in time of war the Colonies should be allowed to be neutral, seeing, as he very justly and truly said, that the Colonists had no more power over the Imperial determination of such questions than they had over the solar system. And although by some persons in Melbourne this proposition

for neutrality of the Colonies was regarded at the time as somewhat pusillanimous, it was, nevertheless, undeniable that such a difficulty as that with which Sir Charles Duffy's proposal would deal, was a solecism in their relations with the Empire, with which no reasonable man could be satisfied. He would not trespass upon them, by going more particularly into the many other considerations which he thought justified his doubts as to the practicability of this proposed confederation. Mr. Labillière had quoted Edmund Burke, and no one could have a higher appreciation of that transcendent genius than he had, whether regarded as a rhetorician, or as a political and moral philosopher ; but, with the greatest deference, he said that he thought even Burke was not always to be trusted upon merely political questions, in which he had, on some points, been corrected by the calmer judgment of Sir James Mackintosh. Doubtless, upon the question of England's dealings with her American Colonies, Burke was the greatest advocate a nation ever had, taking his stand as he did on the strong ground that taxation without representation was tyranny ; but on the other questions Burke had shown that even his fine judgment could be at times trammelled by his prejudices, resulting from the alarm he had felt at some of the consequences of the first French Revolution. Mr. Michie concluded by thanking the meeting for the attention with which they had listened to him, casual visitor as he was, and in no wise entitled—but for being called up by their hon. chairman, Sir Robert Torrens—to intrude on their discussions at all.

Mr. JOURDAIN (Mauritius) said that it had been proposed that the Colonies should be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, but the last speaker had already pointed out the inconvenience of such a course. At the last meeting, when the paper of their late lamented secretary was read, it was clearly seen that as a means of promoting the permanent unity of the Empire, he devised a scheme for a Colonial Council in England, composed of delegates from the different Colonies, which would have its influence with the Imperial Government. He (Mr. Jourdain) gave his most hearty support to the scheme. Having been long resident in one of the Colonies, he had thought over the matter, and saw objections to there being representatives of the Colonies in the British Parliament. They would be too few to have any influence whatever. But he thought if they had in London a Council formed of delegates from the different Colonies, that would have its effect upon the Legislature of England. Questions of Colonial interest would be submitted to that Colonial Council. Naturally enough the member of the Government at the head of the Colonial department

would be the President of the Council. He would hear the *pros* and *cons* of every question discussed in the Council, and thus the views of the Colonies would come before the Houses of Parliament with the authority of a Minister of State, who would have the support of the Government for the time being. Thus much greater influence would be brought to bear, than by having a few scattered members of Parliament here and there. He objected to extremes, and did not think they should ask immediately for Federation. He believed it would be the first step towards the attainment of the Federation of the Colonies, which was essential, if they got them first of all federated in a Representative Council in London, which, after all, was the centre of the British Empire. Schemes had been proposed for having Ambassadors and Secretaries of State. Now this might be all very well for the Dominion of Canada, and the great Australian Colonies, but could hardly be applied to the many Colonies of less extent. He (Mr. Jourdain) had been struck by the fact that at the last meeting, when this subject was discussed, the speakers seemed to think that when they alluded to the Dominion of Canada and Australia, they did all that was necessary, but he would remind the meeting that there were other Colonies, such as South Africa, and the West Indian Islands, which had a right not to be ignored, and many others scattered over the ocean, which, although territorially much smaller, were none the less important Colonies of Great Britain. Alluding more particularly to that speck in the Indian Ocean, where he had spent many years, and with which he had been officially connected, he could affirm, that though small in extent, its geographical position alone rendered it a very valuable Colony to Great Britain. Still, Mauritius was too small to expect to send an Ambassador or Secretary of State to England, and if such a system were even adopted, where would the Ambassador of Mauritius be by the side of the Ambassador of Canada or Australia? He did not consider that scheme would work at all well. But if they adopted a Colonial Council, little Mauritius would get the advantage of the support of other Colonies, and the larger Colonies might be glad in return to have the assistance of a few of the smaller Colonies to aid them, and this would be the first step towards the Federation of the Colonial Empire.

Mr. J. DENNISTOUN WOOD (of Victoria) said : One reason why Mr. Westgarth thought it would be preferable that the Colonies should send members to the British Parliament, was to be found in the fact, as he supposed, that no such sweeping change as Mr. Labillière proposed had ever taken place. Mr. Westgarth said they must go gradually to work, that they must have a few members sent to the

British Parliament, and in course of time they might hope to have an Imperial Parliament separate from the British Parliament. But if they looked at the history of Britain, it would be found that changes of the kind which Mr. Labillière advocated had been brought about, not by intermediate steps, but by one single effort of the Legislature. At one time there were three Parliaments in the United Kingdom—the Parliament of England, the Parliament of Scotland, and the Parliament of Ireland. By what intermediate steps was the Parliament of Scotland abolished? Not gradually, but by one sweeping measure. The same thing took place as regards Ireland; but upon this point Mr. Westgarth was mistaken. If they looked to the history of other countries, it would be found that something of the same kind had taken place. A few years ago there were separate legislatures in Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and other German States; but now there was one Imperial Parliament for the whole of Germany. Thus, Mr. Labillière was not advocating anything unheard of. It might be said that there was no pressing necessity now for anything of the kind. Perhaps not; but it was the duty of statesmen to look, not merely to the present, but to the future. Less than a century since the country which was now comprised in the American Union had a population of less than three millions; the population was now very nearly forty millions. Let them look at the population of some of their most rising Colonies. When he was a child there was not a single European in the Colony of Victoria, and now the population was 800,000 British subjects. If they cast their eyes forward fifty or one hundred years, it would be found that probably the population of the Colonial Empire would equal, if not exceed, that of the mother country; and could they have one Parliament seated in London, declaring for the whole Empire whether there should be peace or war? Would it be tolerated by the Colonial Empire of Britain that they should be plunged in war without having a single voice in the matter? As Mr. Michie had said, the question had arisen, for Sir Charles Duffy had mooted the question even now. He had wished that the Colonies should be in a state of neutrality, supposing that Britain were at war. There would be this difficulty in the way of such a proposal, if there were no other: if Victoria were to be a neutral Colony, supposing a British man-of-war entered Victorian waters in time of war, the Colony would have to order the man-of-war out after it had remained forty-eight hours, because to allow it to remain longer in Victorian waters would be a breach of neutrality, and then there would be an end of the integrity of the Empire altogether. He would remind them, in

conclusion, of what Dr. Johnson, who was one of the executors of Thrule, the great brewer, said at the sale of the business, "We are not here to dispose of a mere parcel of brewers' vats and tubs, but of the potentiality of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice;" and so he would say, "We are not now speaking of a mere alliance between Great Britain and a few handfuls of population scattered over the surface of the globe, but of the potentiality of empire beyond the dreams of ambition."

Mr. STRANGWAYS (from South Australia) said: As to that part of Mr. Labillière's paper which treated of the desirability of maintaining the unity of the Empire, it was unnecessary to say a word; but upon the second part, relating to the means by which that end was to be attained, he confessed his own opinion was in accord with the views expressed by Mr. Michie, the only difference between them being that Mr. Michie was in doubt, whereas he was not. It was suggested that a Council should be formed in England which should have almost the entire management of Federal questions, meaning thereby questions which were of interest, not only to the Empire, but to the Colonies themselves. He had paid great attention to that subject, and in his judgment the only material question that could arise was the question of peace and war. He would ask them to remember that in a question of that kind the interests of the Colonies might conflict with the interests of the central Government of England, or if that were not so, the sentiments of the Colonies might conflict. Having been in Australia during the time of the *Alabama* question, it was his firm belief that if the *Alabama* question had had to be decided by the vote of the Australian Colonies, England would not have been bounced out of three and a half millions. He wished to put that as a prominent instance before them as a question which might come before a Federal Council, and as to which the sentiments of the Colonies would be diametrically opposed to the sentiments of the ruling power in England. As to the formation of a Council, he would remind them that at the present time there were few parts of the British Empire with which the Secretary of State for the Colonies could not correspond at a few moments' notice by telegraph. He thought he might safely say, that before ten years were over there would be scarcely a part of the English dominions which would not be in communication with Downing-street by telegraph. Therefore he thought the great necessity for a Federal Council would not arise. He believed, however, they must deal with their Colonies not in the light of children to be kept under control and corrected in the old-fashioned way, but as young men coming into the world to be

dealt with as a wise father would deal with them, helping them to set up for themselves in the world, and if they got on they would be ready to flock round the parental roof-tree. He would conclude by saying, that he believed they must look to history, in connection with this question, which taught them that an Empire was not to be bound together by bands of iron or steel, but that it could only be maintained by the natural cohesion of its own particles, the strongest band being the band of self-interest. He considered there was no fear whatever of the disintegration of the Empire of England, until the mission of the English Empire was fulfilled, which he believed to be the entire abolition of slavery in every part of the world, and the spread of the Christian religion.

Mr. TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS said, he could not at all agree with the feasibility of the system of Federation or of a Colonial Council. They had already a Council in London of a similar character, namely the Indian Council; what influence had that upon public opinion? The Colonial Council could hardly expect to exercise a greater influence on Colonial subjects than the Indian Council on Indian subjects. As regarded Federation, he asked who among the great Colonists had asked for Federation? Having referred to some expressions of Judge Haliburton, which he considered were adverse to the proposed scheme of Federation, the speaker asked how unity was to be brought about? The very idea of Federation he said was not unity, but separation—a combination of separate bodies. They did not want it. He maintained that blood was stronger than self-interest. They wanted some system of administration which would bring the units together, and induce and enable them to come to a common agreement to support a common object. It was useless to speak of their present Parliament as an Imperial Parliament, it was only a Parliament of the United Kingdom. What they wanted was a representative body that should have wide sympathies and wide knowledge. Under the present system it was no wonder that, for lack of knowledge, questions of such vital importance as the interests of India, for example, were practically ignored in our Parliament. It must be obvious to anyone who had watched the growth of our present Parliament of the United Kingdom to the rapid increase of local objects demanding the attention of the Parliament, and rapid growth of the discontent of England in particular, at the manner in which English business was attended to, would sooner or later force upon those concerned in the business of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the necessity of a dissolution of the bands that now tied together the Parliament of the three kingdoms. Everyone knew

that whilst they found some men only capable of considering local questions and narrow views, they had others who were wide and broad in their aspirations, and who possessed that knowledge which enabled them to deal with imperial questions.

Mr. Godson proposed, and Mr. J. B. BROWN seconded, a motion to the effect that the discussion be adjourned.

The resolution having been carried, it was agreed that the debate do stand adjourned until Tuesday, 2nd February; and a vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

The third Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute was held in the Theatre of the Society of Arts, on Tuesday evening, February 2nd, 1875, Mr. HUMPHREY M. FREELAND in the chair.

Adjourned discussion on

THE PERMANENT UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Godson to open the discussion.

Mr. GODSON said that he had gone with some care through the two papers which had been read—the one by Mr. Labillière and the other by Mr. Eddy, and it seemed to him that neither one nor the other went to the point which they had to consider. He felt perfectly confident that one of these papers was simply put forward to introduce a discussion on the matter. There were, however, one or two points to which he should like to call attention. As regards the confederation of countries, he thought that they all agreed that it was the only thing that could be done for permanent unity. It seemed that in England there were several classes of persons whose great point was to pretend great ignorance about the Empire in general, and one such class had been mentioned by Mr. Eddy. The ocean was talked about as if it was some barrier between different parts of the Empire; whereas nature had made it, on the contrary, the great highway and road between the different parts. As long as we maintained possession of the ocean, we had a highway between the different parts of our Empire, and not a barrier. And it seemed to him that the sooner the gentleman who had referred to the ocean as a barrier went across it and understood it, the better it would be for himself and for others. The confederation of the Empire seemed to be a difficult thing to carry out; but there was hardly time to go through the whole of the paper bearing on that point. If the Colonies were cut off from England we should not gain in a paying point of view, for if they

were independent we should have to keep agents and consuls in them, and the presence of the consuls would more than exceed the expense which we now incurred. The expense of the embassy and everything else attaching to it would cover about five or ten times as much as the present cost, and therefore there would be no practical gain in getting rid of the Colonies, even in an economical point of view. He thought that they might take it for granted that the unity of the Empire was the great point of one of the papers, and it only remained to point out some method by which that unity could be carried out. Of course it stood to reason that the confederation must be perfect; and, therefore, to bring this about, one side or the other must give up something. We all supposed that the Colonies would give up everything to us; but, as it happened at the present time, Canada was almost in a position of independence, and it only remained for us now to patch up something or other in the best way we could. It seemed to him that we had a very good basis to start upon in an Imperial Parliament. Of course an Imperial Parliament, as it stood now, would be utterly useless. It would require reconstituting, and at the present time it was very cumbersome, and the cumbersomeness of it must be cleared away, and then we could start afresh. The great point for us was, of course, to get supplies and men in the time of war. There was no use in a confederation unless it was for that, and for the purpose of trading with each other in a peaceable manner; and, therefore, the great point in confederation was to keep those matters in view only, and to let inferior and minor matters be legislated on in the countries themselves. It was noticed by visitors to this country from the Colonies, that when they went to the Houses of Parliament, members would sometimes get up and speak upon matters which were greatly interesting to the Colonies, but which were considered very dry by their audience here, and but a few members attended such debates, and they showed great indifference to the matter in hand, although it was one of great importance. The answer to that was simply, that the members of Parliament who were sent up now were merely sent for trade or local purposes. They were only sent to serve a particular purpose, and they had not been specially picked out for their knowledge concerning the Empire. They were merely picked out to represent certain parties and certain towns; and therefore when Mr. John Smith, the member for a very small town, made a great fuss as to whether a gravel walk should be made of fossil shells, it was very interesting to his constituents, but of course it was very immaterial with respect to Imperial legislation. The first thing we should

have to do in taking Parliament in hand, would be to decide that local subjects should be dealt with in provincial parliaments, which should be quite separate from the Imperial Parliament. The only way to form a provincial parliament, when the population was very large and the area very small, would be to make a certain number of centres, which should legislate for themselves on such matters as canals, roads, railways, and all minor local questions. Such centres might be formed, for instance, at York, Birmingham, Exeter, &c. for England; and Aberystwith for Wales; and at Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Inverness, for Scotland; and at Dublin and Limerick, for Ireland. This would be a great advantage, for, as far as Ireland was concerned, it would give home rule in that country, and would do away with local matters being discussed in England. It would please the Irish, and not hurt England. Then when a Bill had been brought before them, it would be sent to another House, which would be composed of deputies from the different centres, and would sit in London; and that body would act as a drag upon provincial parliaments, just as the House of Lords now acted as a drag to the House of Commons; and after the local measures had been passed by the central senate they would receive the royal assent. Of course when they got rid from the Imperial Parliament of all these small and local matters of which he had spoken, there would be nothing left for the legislature beyond the Imperial questions in connection with the raising of the Revenue and its expenditure, and so on, and Parliament would be able to give its whole attention to such matters. The representation in such a House should be decided by the population, a vote being given by everyone over twenty-one years of age. But as this method would be objected to at the present time by the Colonies, in consequence of their population being so small, as a counter-weight to this mode of representation, there should be also representation in proportion to the area of soil. He had not time to go into the subject more fully, but, speaking roughly, he should say that Australia, which had about 2,000,000 square miles, and a population of about 2,000,000, should have a member for every 100,000 square miles that was inhabited; and that would be the ultimate amount they would ever have. They would have about twenty members ultimately for the mileage, and twenty for the present population. England would have one member for the mileage, and 310 for the population. Canada would have about 35 for the mileage, and about 35 for the population. There was, of course, in Australia and Canada at the present time a large amount of land unpopulated; but that

portion would not be represented. According to this plan the Colonies would of themselves have a great deal of power collected together in Parliament. Then, of course, came another important question, a question that had been partly mentioned in Mr. Labillière's paper, and that was the question of titles. As the Imperial Parliament, as it stood, would be taken into the scheme, the House of Lords would be a great obstacle. The great way to get over that, would be to require the members of the House of Lords to give up their seats after three generations. This was a very uncomfortable question, but still it was one that would have to be tackled sooner or later. It was a question in which England would have to give up something. We should have to give titles abroad to about ten persons in the million of the population to start with, and then of course some of the titles might be reserved to be given away by the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Secretary) said that if anything could indicate the importance of, and the interest which was taken in the question that was now before them for the third time, it would be the fact that the discussion had already occupied three evenings, and had been a very animated one. He had heard the opinions of many eminent Colonists on this question, and he should like, as an Englishman, inhabiting the mother country, to give his opinion upon it. Before he did so, however, he felt it was desirable that, occupying the position of Honorary Secretary to the Institute, he should allude to an incident which occurred when Mr. Eddy's paper was read at Glasgow. A very eminent individual presided on that occasion—Sir George Campbell—who gave utterance to sentiments which he (Mr. Young) thought it was necessary that this Institute should protest against most emphatically. He held in his hand the report of the meeting, given in the *Times* newspaper, and considering the important position which Sir George Campbell occupied as an eminent Indian administrator in this country, the members of the Institute ought to protest against and refute, as far as they could, the sentiments which he had expressed. Sir George Campbell said that "he was not one of those who believed in the possibility of uniting the Colonies to our own country in a perpetual bond." And he went on to say, "Our ignorance with regard to the Colonies was natural and insuperable." He (Mr. Young) wanted to know whether the members of the Colonial Institute would for one moment admit that to be true? (No.) And whether they did not think that it was their mission to endeavour to get rid, to some extent, among their own countrymen, of that ignorance which Sir George Campbell pro-

nounced to be "insuperable." Again, he said that "it was hardly possible that we could bring the people of this country, who had many and pressing interests of their own, to take a sufficient interest in the extremely varied, difficult, and complicated affairs of countries on the opposite side of the globe. Englishmen could never have sufficient knowledge of the internal affairs of the Colonies to identify themselves fully and fairly with the sentiments of Colonists. The indirect burdens to which we were exposed by our connection with Canada were enormous, and he did not see that we gained anything directly or exclusively by that connection. He was, therefore, inclined to think that in such a case as that of Canada, the sooner the connection was severed the better. At the same time he quite recognised that we could not apply the same rule uniformly to all our Colonies." It was necessary that they should most emphatically, and in the strongest manner possible, protest against such opinions as that. (Applause.) He would say, with due submission, that they were spoken by a man who, though distinguished for his public services, yet showed utter ignorance of the whole question, and nothing but that ignorance could have induced him to give expression to such sentiments. It was quite necessary that they should be noticed, because they were pronounced by such an individual, and before such an audience, and had been so widely circulated through the medium of the press, and this therefore was his reason for bringing them before the meeting on the present occasion. Without following Mr. Godson in his very elaborate exposition of the particular scheme which he proposed for federation between the Colonies and this country, he wished to be allowed to say that having given a great deal of reflection and thought to the subject, he could not see that the question, although an extremely difficult one, was incapable of solution. It appeared to him, after all, that although this was a question which would require the highest statesmanship to solve, yet it was one of those things which all lovers of their country should demand to be seriously grappled with by those who undertook to direct the destinies of this great country. He would ask them what was the origin of their own parliaments in the earlier days of English history. Was it not that men were called together from different parts of the kingdom, as it then existed, to confer with, and to advise the sovereign, and to make laws and frame a constitution for the Government of the country as it existed in those rude and dark ages. At that time there was very little communication between the different parts of the country, and it was extremely difficult to traverse it. And yet, somehow or

other, the wisdom of our ancestors was sufficient to elaborate a constitution which had been the pride and glory of England ever since, and the admiration of the rest of the civilised world. If such a thing was done in those ages to suit the exigencies of the British population, which then numbered only a few millions, he could not see why, when the country had extended its borders, and the same people speaking the same language and having the same sentiments, had gone forth to other lands, under its dominion, because the mother country had become too full to contain them, and had been led by Providence to settle themselves in various parts of the globe under the British rule, there should not be an extension of, or a perfect change, if necessary, in the original constitution, which should be sufficient to govern them as satisfactorily as under the one their forefathers originated, who were able to create and establish a constitution which was so suitable to them and their times. One of the difficulties, which primarily presented itself to our minds, was that which was created by the distance of the various parts of the empire from one another. No doubt that was one formidable objection, but we must recollect the facilities with which we could get from one portion of the earth's surface to another in the present day, and the marvellous revolution which the electric telegraph had produced in annihilating, as it were, distance, and enabling us to communicate instantaneously with every part of the world. Persons, too, could travel from place to place in an incredibly short time. He had before his mind a very apt instance of this at the present moment. A friend of his, and a member of the Institute, was a distinguished member of the Legislative Council of the Cape of Good Hope. He referred to Mr. De Roubaix, who had recently come to England in three and twenty days from the Cape, intending to remain here six weeks, and to go back to the Cape to attend the meeting of the Legislative Council there, and then to return to England in the summer, and to remain in this country for several months afterwards. When there were such instances before us of men who were members of Legislative Councils in the Colonies, and who could really come here in the flesh, and remain a few weeks, and then go back to their Parliamentary duties, and return to England again in the course of a few months, he would ask why distance should be a difficulty which would prevent our having a thoroughly representative system in which all the Colonies would participate. He had a very great idea, that difficulty was not an insuperable one but that it might be got over. There was also another tremendous difficulty which affected us all, more or

less, and that was "prejudice." There was a jealousy of giving up some of the power, which we in this country possessed exclusively, and which we did not think we ought to share with our Colonial fellow-subjects in the Government of the State; and there was "prejudice" in the Colonies because they would not like to give up to the old country any independent power which they already possessed in their different governments. So between one and the other, "prejudice" affected very deeply and strongly the solution of this question. But he thought that they might overcome this by bringing to bear the immense importance of the question of uniting the whole of the Colonial empire with this great country, and encourage the development of some of those more enlarged views which statesmen alone were able to put forth, and that then all those practical and theoretical difficulties might be got over. It was impossible in a short speech of a few minutes to meet all the objections which there might be, or to bring forward consecutive arguments in favour of the great end which many of them felt it so desirable to accomplish, and which would, more than anything else, affect beneficially the permanent unity of this empire. He was one of those who thought, also, that as far as the distribution of all kinds of honours was concerned, they ought to be bestowed with the most impartial hand to all, whether they were Englishmen residing in the old country, or Englishmen residing in any other part of the British Empire. Sentiment ruled the world, and he did not care whether the honours to which he referred were worth anything or nothing; but it was a miserable and contemptible system which gave, what we called the highest honours, only to certain individuals in this country, and to our Colonial fellow-subjects some of the lowest and least appreciated of those honours, which were occasionally rather lavishly bestowed on Englishmen themselves. He thought that the peerage should be recruited equally from the Colonies and from the old country. It was all very well to say that there were difficulties in the way. Of course there were difficulties in the way of everything which might be suggested, but there were distinguished men all over the world who bore the English name, and it was the bounden duty of those who had to dispense the honours which were to be bestowed, to find out where the distinguished men were, who deserved them, and to distribute the honours accordingly with an impartial hand. He believed that such a system, more than anything else, would cement that great union between all parts of the empire which some of them so fervently and ardently desired. He believed that that in itself would be an

important feature in giving a representative character in the country to the Colonial portions of the kingdom, and would go far to show that we all felt we were citizens of one country, and that we wished to be bound up for ever with one another. (Applause.)

General MILLINGTON SYNGE said, that he thought that the subject really did not require very many words to be said about it, though to follow in detail all that had been brought before the society would occupy volumes, and perhaps ages of time. He had been prevented from hearing the discussion which had preceded the present meeting; but with regard to the subject itself, he really believed that they had taken up a task about as profitable and about as necessary as it would be to work to prove that a father and mother, a husband and wife, or a brother and sister were related. He did not think that they had at all to build up the unity of Englishmen. (Hear, hear.) He had met them in very many parts of the globe, and he had found them animated with one sentiment, and that very old-fashioned and very homely one—the desire to do their duty according to the ability they had and the station in which they were placed. Of course, there were notable exceptions. There were some very ambitious men, and some very evil men. There was at one time an attempt organised with uncommon skill, and directed towards the dismemberment of the Empire, but we were not living in that condition now. It was a flash in the pan that went out in a pestiferous manner, and had left its bad odour in everybody's nostrils. And he did not think that they were dealing towards themselves with sufficient self-respect when they took any notice of it, except to say when it was forced upon their attention, that it was something which they did not care to handle or speak about. He had taken a soldier's view of this question, and probably persons in his profession were apt to deal with matters of fact. The first fact which he had brought before their notice was, that they were all fellow-men in all parts of the Colonies. They were all Englishmen, and they believed in one Sovereign, and entertained one sentiment, and would fight for one common cause. But the next recognition of existing facts which he should like to bring before their notice was, that the Empire of England was a translation into hard material, commercial facts, of the circumstance of England being an island inhabited by men who had the spirit of freemen, a love of venture, and independence of feeling. The only occasion on which he ever thought of leaving England was when there was a proposition that members of Parliament should be paid by salaries. He preferred that persons who sought the privilege of being

members of Parliament, should pay their own expenses, and should not foist upon others the task of paying for their gratification and pleasure. For what object were we taxed? The Honorary Secretary seemed to be under the historical impression—with which he (General Synge) was not prepared to agree—that the origin of Parliament was a desire on the part of the Sovereign to have advice as to governing his kingdom; but he believed that it arose in the need, on the part of the King, of more men to follow under his banner, and in the disaffection of the nobles who took advantage of the wars. We were now in an infinitely more perplexing position. He had no hesitation in saying that military force and diplomatic cunning were putting their joint strength together to the utmost peril, not of the Empire only, but of the peace and tranquillity of this realm. A population isolated as we were could not attempt by any possibility to compete numerically with the hordes of Europe, who had been transformed into armed forces, whose purpose was slaughtering by rule, and whose object was pillage and subjugation against the will of the inhabitants. He thought that the responsibility of England in this matter could not be possibly over-estimated, because they had only to shake themselves free from the trammels of taxation and ideas of routine, to reassert their personal independence, their love of commercial enterprise, and their readiness to fight whether on the water or on the land, or, in other words, to restore the right to make all these conspiracies perfectly futile, and thereby to restore tranquillity and safety to the Empire. Let them satisfy their fellow subjects, whether inhabiting islands or elsewhere, that they did not want taxes, and that they left them to arrange all their municipal affairs according to their own historical customs, and he did not see that there would be anything to do except to live in peace and quietness. There was implanted in every human being a sense of those commandments which related to right and wrong, and if they would just simply say that no such thing as legal enactment was necessary except to administer the supremacy of law, and that no unity among the Colonies was required except the recognition of a common race as a matter of course belonging to one family, the problem would be solved without difficulty. The subject was one in which he took great interest. To transfer the dominion of the world to military powers was the great danger, and to recall that act was the first step to be taken in order to remove the peril which now surrounded us.

Mr. BEAUMONT (late Chief Justice of Guiana) said, that he must confess the surprise with which he heard Mr. Godson advocate his

particular plan for the reconstitution of the Empire ; and it was with some pleasure that he had heard his friend, General Synge, lay down that which seemed to be so much more pertinent to the discussion. The Empire was an existing fact. Its maintenance in integrity was, so to say, the breath of their nostrils. Of that Empire it was true that England was the head. But, after all, it was only the head, and as we were told in the Scriptures that there ought to be not even jealousy between one member and another, so it was to be deemed literally suicidal to contemplate separation of the members of the Empire. Looking at the question in that light, he objected to the proposals of so-called Federation in principle, and because they involved placing that which stood on higher ground, and as a matter of fact, as if to reach a lower level were merely a matter of hope or of speculation. The British Empire was a grand fact ; but to suppose that this country could maintain its position as a country without its Colonies was, to his mind, scarcely less fantastical than to suppose that the head, severed from the body, should maintain its grandeur, or even sentient powers, to say nothing of impulse and powers of activity. What a miserable wreck it would be ! When that time of separation might come, instead of England being the head of the Empire, its pretensions to greatness may all become matters of scorn and contumely, and we might expect to fall under the hoof of whatever hostile power might be able to say that their wisdom had not been as our wisdom, or perhaps be dependent on the protection of our quondam Colonies, which had been increasing while we had been diminishing. Whatever might be the past glory or history, or the intellectual powers of the few millions of this small realm, England would never be able to maintain its position, in the great and ever-enlarging cosmopolitan theatre, if the Colonies were separated from it ; and the less so, because it seemed inevitable that if they became separated they must become, in a great degree, alienated. He had supposed, for some years past, that the matter did not require debate. He had been shocked to find that, owing to some Colonial difficulties a few years ago, it was contemplated that England might cast off its members, and thrive the better for it. And he remembered certain meetings which, although they were laughed at very much, served to impress the public mind very much. Amongst other points of national importance, it was clearly shown how false was the assumption that England would gain by the Colonies being cast off. It was shown in ample detail, as it could always be shown beyond dispute, that if it were on commerce that England was to depend for its prosperity, then that prosperity

was especially due to the Colonies, and that it was by the extended prosperity of our Colonies that commerce would more surely expand itself. He was surprised when he heard Mr. Young read what Sir George Campbell had said. With all possible respect to Sir George Campbell, it did seem to him that those remarks would be properly answered with scorn—for they were as if someone was to propose that, because our children were burdensome and ungrateful, the parents were to live in selfish opulence, and leave their children to grope alone through their difficulties as they could. But in fact, though he had known something about the Colonies, and had taken a deep and constant interest in them, he had never yet heard anything to give rise to such suggestions of indifference or ingratitude on their part. To say that now and then there might have been some matters of difference and heart-burning, was true enough; but had there ever been any attempt in any part of our Colonial Empire to embarrass the mother country, or to emancipate itself from what had been inaptly called thralldom? Of course he bore in mind about the United States of America. That was a lesson which we had to learn—were not likely to forget—and he was not sure that, as it had turned out, it was an altogether unsatisfactory lesson; but there had never been a symptom, as yet, of such a separation in feeling or in act being repeated. But he contended that the unity of the Empire was not only a fact, but a constitutional axiom, and to treat the component parts of our Empire as separable, was to deny the very basis of our national system. He would not say that it might not be judicious to look forward to some readjustment of machinery, or some mode in which more efficient representation of Colonial interests might be brought about. On the other hand, there was danger of weakening the ground by discussing impracticable details. To talk grandly, for instance, of the Lords giving up their titles and functions in three generations, was, to his mind, an *argumentum ad absurdum*. Such propositions would lay the Society open to the reproach of succeeding the three tailors of Tooley-street. To some extent he could not help thinking that they were going in the same direction, when it was proposed that they should discuss detailed schemes for Colonial representation in the Houses of Parliament. To anticipate the difficulties introduced in schemes of that kind was not the part of wisdom. It would expose them to having their best arguments picked off in detail, when advanced so far beyond the principles which can be supported. As to taxation, the Colonies had been appealed to to contribute towards the expense of their local defence, and, so far as he had ever heard,

they had answered in a very liberal manner, He thought, indeed, that it was a mistake on the part of the mother country to ask them to bear such expenses as had been incurred in view of a national war; it tended to bring into undue prominence that which in time might be a most serious part of the Colonial question, viz.: what voice the Colonies were to have in respect of peace and war. That might be a question of the greatest difficulty, and whenever it arose it would require the greatest statesmanship to adjust it, but the difficulty would be even greater in anticipation than if dealt with as it arose. But if any Colony objected to contribute to any reasonable demand on this head, it might be asked whether it had ever occurred to it to be uneasy about its own safety. Speaking broadly, was it not a fact that the safety of the Colonies was absolutely secured by virtue of the great power of this country? And that was of course one great advantage which the Colonies gained from their connection with England. They gained not only wealth, and intellectual, social, and material prosperity, but they got the benefit of that strong arm which, though concentrated in this country, was so strong because it was strengthened from the ends of the earth, and which had never yet failed to reach to the ends of the earth. This question had, in fact, been forced upon the Colonies; but when it was forced upon them, it was met in that distinct, fair, and liberal way in which they had always acted towards the mother country. They said, "Tell us what you want, and we will pay it." And, whenever any Colony had been told what the mother country expected them to pay, as the fair share of the expense of their defence, it had been paid. Though it could only be glanced at then in a few words, he would rather suggest, as his contribution to the consideration of this great question, and as the most consistent and practical scheme of "Federation" (though he did not like that word), the establishment of groups of Colonies. It seemed evident that a more systematic and effectual organisation of the Empire might be effected by means of the gradual adoption of such groups. The Canadian Dominion would be, as it already was, one great group; another glorious one might be formed of the South African Colonies; another would be the Australian; and another would be (though last mentioned, not the least) the West Indian. That was a plan really ready to our hands, not in any degree out of the region of practical discussion. It had been already initiated as to Canada, it only required due and steady development. It was entirely consistent with our constitution and usages. It would have this advantage, that while

such groups would be built up in some measure as independent communities by a representative and administrative system of their own, they would still be founded (and why not for an indefinite period?) upon the existing monarchical system, which might be maintained and supplemented by a system of vice-royalties. Let us consider the prospects of the royal family, and the hold which they had upon the loyalty of the people; let us consider what men of mark there should and might be amongst them, who would be both capable and proud to aid in developing such a system as he was thinking of, and so to consolidate for all time this great Empire on the basis of restoring the somewhat loose and nebular Colonial system into groups of subordinate dominions, fast and for ever, into one Imperial system, of which England would be the centre, gradually bringing more prominently into development the essential organisation of such a system. He should prefer, in these discussions, to keep out of use the word "Federation," which he did not think was consistent. The word "Empire" was the proper word. It ought to be felt that it was as much the right, and for the advantage of the people of the Colonies, to form one nation with us, as of Englishmen to form one nation with them. If England claimed supremacy, it was because she was in fact the head, and in claiming to act as the head she claimed no exorbitant privilege. We wanted to act in concert with the Colonies, believing that our common union was our common wealth, our common strength, and our common glory, and that was the true basis upon which the unity of the Empire, and its prosperity and greatness, would have to be maintained.

Sir ROBERT TORRENS said, that while he entirely agreed in the general views of General Synge, he differed from him in one or two particulars. He thought that it would be a dangerous thing to assume that the desire to shake off the Colonies, which emanated from a great professor of history in one of the universities, had gone to sleep. On the contrary, he believed that the feeling still existed very strongly in certain quarters. The great bulk of what was called "the Manchester school of politicians," held strongly to the faith that the sooner England shook off the Colonies the better it would be for her. There was a prevalent idea among a certain school of professing political economists and others, that the Colonies were a source of weakness, and that the advantage which their commerce yielded to England whilst they continued to be Colonies, would remain if they became separate States. He entirely and emphatically repudiated those statements; but it would be dangerous to assume that the parties who held them were

powerless or insignificant, or that it was safe to leave this question without being constantly prepared to vindicate it. He also differed from the last two speakers with regard to the expediency of bringing up the question of what was to be the bond of union between England and her Colonies. He agreed with the remark made at the last meeting—that the feelings of Colonists were not always in accordance with those entertained in this country on vital questions, such as that of peace and war, and the obligations for contribution to national defences. He could point out a practical instance in which not only a Colony, but a group of Colonies, were placed in a position of serious jeopardy during the late war with Russia. A Russian squadron came down the Amoor River and threatened the commerce of the Australian Colonies, and there was no power whatever to offer the slightest resistance. The very smallest man-of-war could have shelled the harbour of Port Adelaide from the outside, burnt the shipping there, and laid the capital under contribution. There were some old guns which were relics from the Peninsular war, and of which he himself had charge; but there were no ammunition waggons, and no artillery men. That squadron was intended to deal with Australian shipping, as England in the olden times had dealt with the treasure-laden ships on the Spanish Main. He would ask whether it was wise to defer the question of what was to be done in case of war, until the war had actually arisen? He had no hesitation in saying that if Russia, instead of sending down a small squadron, had sent down a fleet of ordinary power, she might have taken possession of King George's Sound, and the great coal depôts there, without opposition; she would have held complete command over the Southern Ocean, and done what she liked, for every vessel going from this country, by whatever route, must go into that place to coal, and the town could not muster eighty fighting men. That place, which ought to be the Gibraltar of the South, was left now unarmed. It was not wise to postpone the question of what part each Colony was to take in the defence of the whole Empire. There were plenty of loyal hearts in Australia, but they wanted drilled officers to teach them what should be done in a case of danger, and this want could only be supplied from the mother country. As to the practical point, he had frequently spoken upon the various projects for bringing about what was called "a federal union," or a closer union of some kind or other, between the mother country and the Colonies. He had paid great attention to the proposals, and they all seemed open to the objection that they were inconsistent in essential points with the con-

tinuance of the British constitution as at present established. They all had that radical defect, whether they demanded representation in the House of Commons, which was the original idea of Adam Smith, or whether they demanded representation in a supreme Parliament which was to have jurisdiction over all the great affairs of the Empire, such as questions of peace and war, taxation, and so forth ; or whether they required that there should be some kind of council, such as the Council of India ; or whether they involved the addition to the ministry of a number of Secretaries of State, representing the different Colonies, as last proposed. No person who was acquainted with the British Constitution, as it was now stereotyped and solidified, would for a moment imagine that it was possible to work out such changes. Suppose that on the recent change of the ministry there had been certain gentlemen who had represented the different Colonies in the late cabinet, would Mr. Disraeli have been bound to take over as part of his cabinet all those gentlemen who had previously been in Mr. Gladstone's cabinet ? Before any plan of this kind could be carried out, we must first subvert, in its fundamental parts, the constitution of England. It appeared to him that it would be just as reasonable for the satellites of Jupiter to say to their parent planet, " You shall take another orbit which suits us," as for the Colonies to require the mother country to adopt such a change. There was, however, one means by which the Colonies might be represented in this country more potentially than they were now, and that was by their sending *chargé d'affaires* to represent their interests to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, just as Foreign Powers send ambassadors to represent the interests of those powers to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Being in a higher position than the present Agents-General, those envoys could exercise, as a matter of right, that communication with the Secretary of State which they now had only on sufferance. They would thus in a more potential manner lay before the Government the views and interests of the Colonists whom they represented. That was about the highest attainment they could have in the way of representation, and we must look to such a practical solution of the question, rather than waste power in urging imprudent theories of Imperial administration. It had been objected (and that was the only objection he had heard against his proposal), that to raise the Agent-General to a position equivalent to that held by *chargé d'affaires* of the lesser European States, would be not a drawing closer the bonds of union, but a thrusting

further off of the Colonies, treating them as Foreign States were treated in this respect. Now if the proposal were to place the Colonies in any position inferior to that of the lesser Foreign States, he could understand that objection as applying; but surely to raise the Colonial Governments from an inferior position, and place them on a par with Foreign States, could have no such alienating influence. He believed that in that would be found ultimately the solution of that question which he thought was wisely and properly brought under review. We ought in due time to consider what position the Colonies would be in, in the event of war being declared, and we ought to know what would be the proportion which the Colonies should contribute towards the defences of the Empire at large. He could bear testimony to the readiness of the Colonies to contribute to their own defence. When the gold diggings were discovered in Australia, the Colonists unanimously voted increased pay for the officers and men of the regiments quartered there; but after a time the home authorities forbade their receiving it, and in no case had the Colonists failed to comply with the demands made upon them by the Home Government for contribution to the cost of military and naval defences.

Major-General MILLINGTON H. SYNGE said that he should be sorry that anyone should be under the impression that he had said one word to propose that the question of the defence of the Colonies should be postponed. The utter defencelessness of King George's Sound must be perfectly well known to the Ministry of the day.

Sir ROBERT TORRENS said, that he did not assert that the Government had not a knowledge of the importance of King George's Sound, as commanding the Southern Ocean, but he would assert that they took no steps whatever for securing that naturally strong position by military defences.

Mr. ABRAHAM said, it was not desirable that anyone, relying on the high authority of Sir Robert Torrens, should go away with the conviction that the British Government did not at the time alluded to take proper precautions for the safety of the Australasian Colonies. Being in Melbourne at the time, he distinctly remembered what occurred. Certain alarmists certainly did write and talk about the possibility of Russian ships of war coming into Hobson's Bay, and placing the banks under requisition. Some ingenious person also spread the report that strange sails had been seen in Bass's Straits. This resulted in a very amusing panic. One night guns were heard down at the Heads, and gradually approaching, accompanied with discharges of rockets. The General and his

officers mustered in hot haste, and all the troops were under arms at the barracks. It proved to be only the *Great Britain* coming up the Bay, blazing away with her guns to commemorate her release from an unreasonable detention in quarantine, and numerous other vessels at anchor joining in the demonstration. It turned out that the British Government was all along quite alive to the movements of the Russian fleet, and the next thing they heard of it was that it was shut up in the harbour of Petropolowski, closely watched by vessels of our North Pacific squadron. The South Pacific was not left unprotected—to the best of his recollection there were two frigates at New Zealand, and also another frigate cruising about Polynesia. In reality there was not the slightest danger, and the Russians knew full well that they had better not venture within many thousand miles of any port of Australia. As regards confederation, it was too late to say anything.

The CHAIRMAN.—Pray proceed, Mr. Abraham.

Mr. ABRAHAM.—Well, so far from thinking that everybody was agreed about confederation, he thought that very few people had made up their minds about it, or we should have had some practical suggestion long before this. He disbelieved in it for three grounds. First, he did not think that the ties between the colonies and the mother country were in any way loosened, or that they required strengthening, and nobody seriously thought of separation. He agreed with every word that Mr. Beaumont had uttered. In the next place, there had been no specific practical plan suggested, and he did not see how anything tangible could be done. It was one thing to unite countries which you could make part of the realm, like England, Ireland, and Scotland, and which you could subject to direct government ; but quite another thing to unite Colonies which were physically incapable of forming part of the realm, and which had responsible governments of their own. The proposal, in truth, could only be carried out by dwarfing politicians in this country, and reducing members of parliament to vestry men, for the sake of exalting Colonists into members of an imperial congress. That was the only way in which it could be accomplished, and, indeed, they had heard it very plainly stated to-night, that it would be necessary practically to abolish the House of Lords and the House of Commons. If there was anybody who ought to be able to convince them of the feasibility of Confederation, it was Mr. Labillière, who had made the subject his special study ; but he (Mr. Abraham) confessed that he had the misfortune to remain unconvinced. His third reason was, that he believed he could point to several instances in which attempts at something like Federation had failed. Men now-

a-days, in every class or order of society, were not disposed to trust to existing institutions, but aimed at what they considered more perfect organisations—relying on forms and not on great principles. Take, for instance, the working classes of this and other countries. They were not content with benefit societies, and unions, and things of that kind, but they must resort to organisation—hence the International, which was to work such wonders, and secure them a larger share of this world's goods. The different centres went to work in perfect union—a federation of local federations ! But what was the result ? They quarrelled about centralisation, and each centre went frizzling away into space on its own account, like the fireworks at the Crystal Palace ; so that we were told by the *Times* a year or so ago, that the Federal executive at Geneva then consisted of nothing but the Secretary, a three-legged stool, and a pillar post for the reception of letters. Another instance of attempt at Confederation was on the part of the Church. The Church, not content with the increase of the episcopacy during the last thirty or forty years, and the vitality of Colonial Churches, must needs go in for what some called a more Catholic organisation, and thus we had a Pan-Anglican conference held a few years ago. Now he was not questioning the propriety or the policy of that proceeding, but only pointing out that it was not a success. (No, no.) Well, it was clear that the attempt had never been repeated. He spoke subject to correction, but he believed that intimations had been received from America and elsewhere, preventing its repetition. Next take our military system. When an accomplished foreign writer spoke in admiration of our Volunteer system, and the vast force in all quarters of the globe which Great Britain, under its operation, could command, military critics, who had been studying Baron Stoffel, insisted that this was not enough, and that all the forces were useless unless united together in something like Prussian organisation. Then—but whether or not in consequence of this suggestion he could not say—at the end of the session of 1873, the noble lord, the present Surveyor-General of the Ordinance, brought forward a very practical proposition, to the effect that the Colonies should be called upon to contribute towards the military and naval forces of this country. Mr. Knatchbull Hugessen got up and said, “ If you moot this it will cause great agitation in the Colonies, and I advise you to drop the subject.” Mr. Gladstone had to come to the rescue, and explain that all that was asked was that the Colonies should be *invited* to contribute, and that both parties in the House were agreed that there could not be any idea of taxing them ; but he deprecated any further discussion of

the matter, and advised that the motion should be withdrawn.

Mr. LABILLIÈRE.—Question, question.

Mr. ABRAHAM.—Question! why he was speaking to the question, and he thought that there could not be a more practical and straightforward application of the principle of Confederation than the proposition of the noble lord. It bore upon that very question of peace or war, which was to be the main business about which this proposed imperial congress, when it met, was to be called upon to deliberate. This was the matter in which the people of this country was most interested, as it touched the breeches pocket, and yet it could not be prudently discussed in the House of Commons. Judging from the instances which he had mentioned, the country, to say the least, was not ripe for the question, and he thought that there would be very great difficulty in ever bringing the matter to a practical result.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (late Governor of Bengal) said that he had not the least idea that he should have put himself on such dangerous ground; but he had had the misfortune to find himself tomahawked and scalped, and held up to public odium. He could not say that all the eloquent speeches that he had heard had changed his opinion. The main burden of the speech of the Hon. Secretary, who did him the honour to quote some of his observations, was, that he considered that those observations were founded altogether upon ignorance, which had been said to be insuperable ignorance. He (Sir George Campbell) entirely accepted that view of the case. (Laughter.) He admitted that his view of the matter was founded upon that insuperable ignorance of the Colonies, of himself, and of others like him. He had discussed the question with regard to propositions which had been made for some sort of federal parliament, in which England and the Colonies were alike to be represented. His proposition was, that they were unable to have a system of that kind, because we in this country, who were not connected with the Colonies, were insuperably ignorant of the Colonies, and could not deal with them. On the other hand, a man who had spent his life in Canada was insuperably ignorant of the domestic affairs of this country. (No.) In his view, a person bred and born in Canada was incompetent to deal with English affairs, as regarded educational, ecclesiastical, and financial questions. In this country the state of things was wholly different from that of Canada. He himself was ignorant of the Colonies, and he would say that ninety-nine out of a hundred ordinary Englishmen, whom one might meet in the streets, were as ignorant of

the Colonies as himself ; and hence a combined Parliament, which would have to deal with the affairs of the Colonies and home matters, would be impossible. It seemed to him that they must look at the matter in a much more practical view than that which had been put forth in the eloquent speeches which had been delivered. Sir Robert Torrens, who, above all men, had studied this subject, had told them that they could not postpone indefinitely the practical question, but they must come to some conclusion as to what should be the relation between England and the Colonies. He (Sir G. Campbell) quite agreed with that view. They could not put the matter off till the stress of war, or some other stress, came upon them. If England had a great difficulty in America, we should find that we were totally unprepared for the grievous stress which would come in Canada. Such a stress would find England wholly unprepared with any means of settling the relation between the mother country and the Colonies. Practically, a dissolution between the mother country and the Colonies had almost taken place. (No, no.) There might be a sentimental connection ; but as regarded matters of practical government, the separation was almost complete. The British Parliament had, at this moment, no substantial power in Canada, or Australia, or the other Colonies. The only substantial bond at present was the Crown, and the Crown was comparatively a very small part of this country. The power of the country rested in the Parliament, and not in the Crown, and therefore when the Houses of Parliament had been dissevered from all power over the Colonies, the dissolution for all practical purposes had taken place. He could understand gentlemen from the Colonies entirely approving of the present state of things. The Colonies had entire freedom for managing their own affairs without the interference of the Parliament of this country ; but on the other hand, they had the protection of this country, and they had the very great benefits which they derived from their connection with this country. He could quite understand that the colonists in general would be pretty well satisfied to let things remain as they were. And he was now speaking in an assembly in which the Colonies appeared to be strongly represented ; but he was taking the view of the poor taxed people of the mother country, and he contended that they must have something to say in this matter. Something had been said about the conduct of a parent who should cast off his children in their difficulties and adversities ; but these Colonies were not children who were in adversity at all. They were strong well-to-do young men, who had gone out into the world, and were quite

able to support themselves, and therefore needed not the assistance of the mother country. It was not right that the labouring men of this country should be taxed for the benefit of the Colonies. (Voices : They are not taxed.) It seemed to him that they were taxed in many respects. (Voices : How ?) The subject of taxation was at the very root of the matter. If we had common wars, there must be some taxation to meet the expenses. At present there was no system by which they could have a common tax, and if they were to have a practical union there must be such a common tax. Some of the gentlemen had magnificently ignored the subject of taxation, and they had said, "Dear me ! if you do not attempt to tax these colonists, they will be quite content to let things go on as they are." Some gentlemen had told them that the attempt at taxation would be extremely unpalatable to the Colonies. He could very well believe it ; but if by any misfortune we should unhappily be involved in a war in respect to Canada, that would involve an immense taxation of the people of this country, and the mass of the taxation of this country was borne by working men. The working people would be heavily taxed, while we should have no machinery by which to tax the colonists. Sir Robert Torrens had told them—and he (Sir George Campbell) would fairly shelter himself under his ægis—that if they were to maintain a practical union, it was necessary that some arrangement should be made. He had listened to a great many proposals and suggestions ; but he had not yet heard of any suggestion for a practical union which, to his mind, was at all workable and feasible. He entirely agreed with the first speaker, that the first step to be taken was one in the direction which he suggested. They must radically alter the constitution of the British Empire before they could have a constitution which would hold England and the Colonies together. They must divest the Imperial Parliament of all local concerns, as had been suggested by the first speaker, and set up local parliaments for such matters, before they could have an Imperial Parliament which would deal with imperial concerns. He thought that that was a step at which they should not arrive for some time to come ; but it was an indispensable one. He would ask whether, supposing that step was taken, the colonists would be willing to be taxed by an Imperial Parliament of that kind ? At present they were not subject to taxation by such a body. Would the colonists be ready to surrender into the hands of an Imperial Parliament in London, the considerable portion of freedom which they now enjoyed. Gentlemen connected with the Colonies, and who were in this country, were inclined to

favour the suggestion ; but if the question was put to the colonists themselves, would they submit to such a surrender, and give a Parliament in this country the right to tax them? (A voice : They would have their own share of representation.) He believed they would not surrender their freedom, and that they would be foolish if they did so. Take the case of Canada. It was now a foreign country to us, and involved us in a most serious risk. The Canadians were, to a certain extent, loyal, for it suited them to be connected with this country ; but they had rebelled before this, and he did not believe that they would be willing to submit themselves to the taxation of any Parliament assembled in London. As to Australia, he believed that the matter was different. Australia was not to us a foreign country, for it was connected with us by many personal ties. But he believed, with Sir Robert Torrens, that it was really impossible to establish any federal council or near connection between Australia and this country which would work in a feasible and practical manner. All that could be done was to establish an alliance under the Crown, and in which Australia might be represented by diplomatic agents, as described by Sir Robert Torrens. It might be possible for two or three generations to keep Australia and this country together ; but he believed that the connection ought to be very much like that which existed between Great Britain and Hanover in the days when the two Crowns were united. (No.) Well, he thought that he was supported in that view by Sir Robert Torrens.

SIR ROBERT TORRENS.—No. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that if he had made a wrong statement, he had failed to understand the meaning of the proposals which Sir Robert Torrens had placed before them ; but Sir Robert Torrens had most distinctly told them that he thought that any scheme for a federal council or union must fail, and he suggested a diplomatic agency. Such a union commended itself very much to his (Sir George Campbell's) mind, as an exceedingly excellent arrangement ; but they should not attempt a more substantial union, for it would not work. When they came to practical questions of a more intimate kind, as to a federal assembly which should tax and control the Colonies, he believed that it would be found that such an organisation was not workable, and it would be better to avoid the irritating questions which would arise if such a thing were attempted.

SIR ROBERT TORRENS, in explanation, said that he maintained that all the proposals which had been brought forward for amalgamating the Empire by means of an Imperial Parliament and

otherwise, were radically opposed to the British Constitution. At his time of life he was disposed to take a practical view of matters, and he held that none of the propositions were practicable; but what seemed to be the solution of the problem was, that the Colonies should be represented by diplomatic agents, and then they should subsidise the mother country proportionately for the military and naval defence of the Empire, or forfeit the right to protection as part of that Empire.

Mr. HALIBURTON said, that he must candidly say that he should have preferred it if the question could have been postponed to a distant day. The question was an exceedingly important one; but he believed that it was rather a subject for philosophers and thinkers, like Mr. Labillière, to work out in libraries, than one for such a discussion. In this Institute they required the questions of the day to be discussed, and he felt that this was not a practical question at present, and he should doubt very much whether this discussion was likely to give the subject a practical character. They owed very much to Mr. Labillière, at any rate, for having brought forward the subject in the able and lucid manner in which he had laid it before them. As to the distinguished gentleman who had just spoken (Sir G. Campbell), he was one of the wise men of the East, and when he turned to the West, they might pardon him if he did not understand all the interests connected with the Colonies. He could not help thinking that some of his conclusions on the subject of taxation were the result of the wish that the Colonies should be got rid of, because, practically, the things which he had assumed to be facts were really not so. The working men of England, so far from wishing that the Colonies should be cast off, were the men who first raised their voices, and signed a petition, containing 100,000 signatures of the working men of London, against the severance. He had never spoken in the presence of the working men of England without feeling that, whenever he alluded to the Colonies they must be looked upon as the heritage of the people of this country. The working men of the country would be unwilling to cast off the Colonies, and on that score there was very little difficulty. But there was a question of pounds, shillings, and pence in the form of taxation. But the nation did not exist altogether by the immortal dollar. Even the Americans in public matters ignored such a consideration when the honour or the safety of their country was concerned, whatever might be said about the cupidity of the Americans. He repudiated the mode in which this question was dealt with by some persons in England. Surely, when we saw the great German nation rising up

and uniting its severed branches, which had been divided for a thousand years by geographical conditions, could we not believe that there was something equally noble in the English character, which might bring about the permanent unity of the Empire in spite of the troublesome dollar. As regarded the question of taxation, it was clearly settled by the recent trade returns, that every man whom we sent out to the Colonies was worth, in some cases, double, and in some cases treble, and sometimes four times, as much to the commerce of England, as Englishmen who were sent to the United States. In the wars of the last few years it had been found that when England could not find Englishmen to go and fight her battles in the Crimea, and appealed to Canada, they raised a regiment there; and how was that regiment treated by gentlemen who held the same views as Sir George Campbell held? They found that that 100th regiment was a standing lie to their arguments, and its name was never heard. The Canadian officers were weeded out, and they got no promotions. Military men knew how they could squeeze an officer out of the regiment without violence, and most of the Colonial officers of that regiment were now found on half-pay in Canada, while some of them had sold but; but, at any rate, the Canadian character of that regiment was at an end. At all events, it was a lesson showing what could be done in the future. If the Canadians had actually sent 20,000 men into the Northern army from their sympathy with the North, the day would come when they would also have men to rise up and fight the battles of this country, which, it was said, they were now unwilling to do. When the news came out about the *Trent* affair, and the insult to the British flag, the Canadians believed that their country would be invaded, and that every man there would have to turn out and fight. There was no feeling of fear or unwillingness on that ground; but a cheer was raised by the men on the wharf where the news was brought, and they were all willing to throw in their lot with their country, even though the Colony would probably have been invaded and devastated. He trusted that this discussion would draw attention to the importance of considering the future of the Colonies. He regretted to find that Mr. Goldwin Smith was identifying himself with the idea of making a separate nation of Canada. That was exceedingly unwise, and he hoped that we should be able to meet it, by showing that the Colonies had a future before them which England was willing to provide for. He quite agreed with the proposal to send out our princes to rule over the different groups of Colonies as viceroys. Might not a prescience of the great future of our Empire have inspired

Shakespeare, the truest Englishman that ever lived, when he penned those words, that should henceforth be the watchword of our countrymen all the world over—

“ This England never did (nor never shall)
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when she first did help to wound herself,
Now these her princes have come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them ; naught shall make us rue
If England to herself do stand but true.”

Mr. LABILLIÈRE, in reply, said that there were once two brothers, one a teetotal lecturer and the other a slave of intemperance. The latter being asked, “ How is it that you are what you are ? ” replied, “ I am helping my brother. He is preaching against the evils of intemperance, and I am the terrible example.” Those who had taken part in the discussion on the present and the previous evenings had been preaching against the policy of disintegrating the Empire, and all they wanted to complete the discussion was to have a “ terrible example.” That terrible example had been supplied in the person of the distinguished Indian administrator, Sir George Campbell. He (Mr. Labillière) would not use the word “ ignorance ” with respect to anything that fell from Sir George Campbell, but he might safely say that Sir George had never studied the question of Confederation, and seemed to have no conception of the nature of that form of government. He had told them that Englishmen did not understand the Colonies, and that the Colonies did not understand England, and that Colonial representatives coming to this country would consequently be incapable of dealing with the municipal affairs of the United Kingdom. Everybody who knew what Confédération meant, knew that a Federal Government never attempted to deal with local concerns, but left them entirely to local control ; and if Sir George Campbell had taken the trouble to read his (Mr. Labillière's) paper, he would have seen that he laid it down that the most perfect freedom of action should be left to the provincial parliaments for the control of local matters. Another extraordinary statement made by Sir George was, that separation had already substantially taken place. Separation for the purposes of local self-government had, of course, taken place. He believed that provincial self-government was the true basis of Confederation ; but we required, over and above that, some system of central organisation which should enable us to deal with a few Imperial questions of common interest to all sections of the Empire, such as our foreign relations, peace and war, diplomacy, the law of domicile, and the law of

naturalisation, &c. Sir George Campbell had spoken of the working classes of this country bearing the weight and burden of taxation, and being oppressed to support Colonial defences. A gentleman in the meeting demanded some evidence in support of such assertions, but Sir George most discreetly fought shy of the question, and glided off to something else. They all knew the fame of Sir George Campbell as an Indian administrator, and they were prepared to give him the highest credit in that character; but the very qualifications which had fitted him so pre-eminently to render valuable services in the relief of the recent famine in India, were just those qualifications which unfitted him to deal with the great question now before the meeting. Sir George Campbell had been brought up under a system in which the idea was paternal government in everything for a dependent race; but he now showed himself incapable of taking a broad and statesmanlike view of a great Imperial policy for the British people of the Empire. He (Mr. Labilliére) agreed with all the sentiments which had been expressed by Mr. Haliburton with regard to the loyalty of the people of the Colonies to Imperial unity; but his statement this evening that he would prefer the postponement of the discussion of this question of Confederation to a distant future, would be best answered by reference to his speech on Mr. Eddy's paper. He then told them that a crisis was imminent, and that John Bull had so completely outgrown the habiliments of his youth, that a catastrophe might at any moment be anticipated. He (Mr. Labilliére) had never for one moment said that they had arrived at such a critical state of things as that. If, however, a catastrophe was, in Mr. Haliburton's opinion, so imminent, he ought to be a much more advanced advocate of a Federal policy than was he (Mr. Labilliére). Sir Robert Torrens had used the remarkable expression, that the project of Confederation was inconsistent with the British constitution as at present established. Sir Robert Torrens, while a member of the House of Commons, had voted upon many questions in opposition to which that very argument might have been applied with equal if not greater force; he had supported the Reform Bill, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, Vote by Ballot, and other very important measures. In fact the argument, such as it was, might have been applied with as much force to any important improvement, from the adoption of Ministerial responsibility in this country down to the present time. Mr. Westgarth had, on the previous evening, endeavoured to frighten the nervous members of the audience by saying, that the scheme of Imperial Federalism was "revolutionary." If some people were told that a thing was revolutionary, their hair would at once stand

on end, and they would be effectually prevented from giving any favourable thought to the subject. There were revolutions *and* revolutions; there had been, in this country and many others, revolutions of the most Conservative character. The system of Federation which he (the speaker) had advocated, if a revolution at all, would be the most Conservative revolution which could possibly be effected, for it would prevent the more tremendous revolution of disintegration. Such mere bogies as "the British constitution" and "revolution" had no terrors for him. In reply to those who said that the question was not ripe for settlement, he would remind those who made the statement, that less than twenty years ago the system of responsible Ministries and Constitutional Government was not introduced into the Australian Colonies. If they had a great sentiment, a great principle—the unity of the Empire—to carry out, let them not raise fanciful difficulties, but let them grapple with the obstacles and carry out their object, and give to their sentiment and principle a practical organisation, and a power such as Federation alone could secure. He had expressly guarded himself in his paper against hurried action. He desired that they should give this question full consideration, as a thing not to be adopted to-morrow, but to be completely matured in the next generation, or within the next fifty years. In a paper which he read at the Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel, he pointed out that the objections to our Confederation were reduced to this, that it would carry still further the system of Federal Government, which, to the extent it has yet been tried, has proved a great success. Perhaps he might be allowed to conclude with the words of a veteran statesman, Earl Russell, who, in his "Recollections and Suggestions," just published, said: "I am disposed to believe that if a congress or assembly representing Great Britain and her Dependencies could be convoked from time to time, to sit for some months in the autumn, arrangements reciprocally beneficial might be made." That was Confederation. The writer continued: "I mean that, on the one hand, the metropolitan state might promise protection to the Colonies, by her army and navy, against any foreign or barbarous enemy; and, on the other hand, the contribution of three or four millions towards our army and navy estimates might be granted by the Colonial Parliament, and an engagement taken—not to charge more than a certain percentage, say 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on British produce and manufacture; or they might propose, as New Zealand had lately done, to ask for Imperial aid when absolutely required, and propose to defray the expense of the aid afforded, and not to interfere with the discretion

of the British commanders by sea and by land. . . . In my eyes it would be a sad spectacle—it would be a spectacle for gods and men to weep at—to see this brilliant Empire, the guiding star of freedom, broken up,—to behold Nova Scotia, the Cape of Good Hope, Jamaica, and New Zealand, try each its little spasm of independence; while France, the United States, and Russia, would be looking at each, willing to annex one or more fragments to the nearest part of their dominions." (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Freeland) said, that it would be out of place⁷ on his part to detain them at so late an hour, with any lengthened observations. He had another reason for not speaking at length, and that was that he could not at present see his way to the adoption of any one of the suggestions which had been laid before them. As regarded Imperial Federation and an Imperial Parliament, neither England nor the Colonies demanded or would accept them. As regarded the representation of the Colonies in the English Parliament, it was at present overburdened with work. When Parliament had divested itself of much of its local business, there would be ample time for the discussion of this proposition. As regarded the suggestion of his lamented friend, Mr. Eddy, that Colonists should be made members of the Privy Council, he did not see that from the adoption of such a course they would derive any accession of real power or any influence worth thinking of. He did not at present see his way to the formation of a Colonial Council, though he was not without a hope that ultimately some common basis of union and responsibility might be found, with reference to the all-important question, affecting alike England and her Colonies, and that was the question of war or peace. As regarded the question of an Imperial Federation, he saw no harm in an occasional discussion of it, though he agreed with those who thought that practical questions should take precedence. Such a discussion called forth expressions of mutual sympathy and regard on the part of Englishmen and Colonists, and practical suggestions which might take definite forms in the future. He would only, in conclusion, express an earnest hope that for many generations yet to come the great heart of England may beat in unison with the hearts of her Colonial children, and that the hearts of our Colonial children may long beat in unison with our own. 5

FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

The fourth ordinary meeting of the session was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on 16th February. At the conclusion of the dinner, which preceded it at the same place—

His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, after proposing the standing toast of the Institute, "The Queen and the United Empire" alluded to the presence of two ex-Governors and the newly-appointed Governor of Fiji, and stated that he would on the present occasion make an exception to the general rule of having no toasts. He proposed the health of Sir James Fergusson, Sir Arthur Gordon, and Mr. Du Cane.

The Right Hon. Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (ex-Governor of New Zealand) said: My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for the compliment you have paid me, in recognising me on this occasion, and especially in naming me at the head of those whose health you have just drunk. I cannot but think that it would have been more fitting had Sir Arthur Gordon been so placed, considering that he is not only an ex-Governor, but one who has been selected by Her Majesty's Government as the most able agent to inaugurate the admission of a new Colony into the British Empire. I would wish him success in his important charge, and I venture to augur well of his undertaking from his abilities and experience. For myself, I am glad to commence my connection with this Institute, whose usefulness, I believe, has already been proved by the attention which its members have attracted to Colonial interests, and the intelligent spirit in which they have discussed Colonial questions. I should do wrong to detain you when our attention is to be called to interesting questions at our business meeting, but I would express my gratitude to you for your kind notice of my presence.

Sir ARTHUR GORDON (Governor of Fiji) said: My Lord Duke,—In requesting Sir James Fergusson, instead of myself, to return thanks for all those whose health has just been drunk, I considered your Grace to have been prompted by considerations of kindness, for which I feel deeply grateful, for you called on one who speaks with ease and force to perform that task, instead of one who can hardly string two sentences together. I, for one, came here this evening to listen, not to speak, but if I am expected to add any words of my own, I can only say, that I thank you most heartily for the honour you have done me, and that in attempting to carry out the views which have induced Her Majesty's Government to accept the cession

of Fiji, it will be no slight encouragement and support to know that one's career is watched and sympathised with by those at home.

Mr. DU CANE (ex-Governor of Tasmania): My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,—Following third in order, I rise to return you my most sincere thanks for the very unexpected compliment which you have paid me, and the kind welcome you have given on my return after six years' absence to the genial sunshine and warmth of an English winter. I have no speech ready at hand to offer you, for, to say the truth, I made some inquiry as to the nature of your after-dinner proceedings, and I was told that after-dinner speeches were expressly forbidden by the rules of your Institute. In such a dilemma, therefore, I feel that I cannot do better than endorse the remarks of my friends Sir James Fergusson and Sir Arthur Gordon. I cordially agree with Sir James Fergusson in the opinions he has expressed as to the necessity for the maintenance of the union between the mother country and her Colonies, and I wish, with him, every success to the important and difficult work about to be undertaken by Sir Arthur Gordon. With Sir James Fergusson also, I cordially place my services at the disposal of the Colonial Institute, and I shall only be too happy if I can be of any use in promoting the very important objects which its members have at heart. I should be a very ungrateful man indeed if I did not make such a promise as that, for it is not only of the Colony in which I have just passed six such very pleasant and happy years of my life, that I shall entertain lasting recollections. During the past six years I have been a visitor in most of the Australian Colonies; I have been a visitor, also, to my friend on my left in New Zealand, and in all these countries I have received the greatest possible kindness, and in all of them, too, I have found existing the same spirit of loyalty to our common Sovereign, and love for old England and English institutions. I know, however, my Lord Duke, that you have far more important and interesting work in hand this evening than to listen to the after-dinner speeches of ex-Governors who have terminated their connection with the Colonial services; and I will, therefore, content myself with once more thanking the present company very sincerely for the honour which they have done me this evening.

Those who were present at the dinner then adjourned to the adjoining room, when the Hon. Sec. (Frederick Young, Esq.) read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN said, before he asked Mr. Chesson to read the paper he had been kind enough to prepare, he would express his

regret that he was unfortunately absent from the last monthly meeting, and also, as the adjournment was unforeseen, he was unable to be present. He specially regretted that, because it was a subject in which he had always taken great interest; indeed, he considered it as one of the principal objects for which their society had been formed. However, he had read the reports of the discussions, and had read with very great interest Mr. Labillière's paper. With it he entirely agreed. Of course it would have been much more interesting to have heard the discussions, for reports could never be so full or interesting as the speeches themselves. He could not help regretting very much that a public servant, of the very great distinction and high services of Sir George Campbell, should have enunciated the sentiments he did. He considered the doctrines erroneous, and was convinced they were unpatriotic. However, he considered they were amply answered at the time, and he would not occupy the meeting with any feeble attempt of his own at reply. He agreed with Mr. Labillière entirely. He considered with Mr. Labillière that any representation of the colonies in the present House of Commons would be inappropriate and inefficient. The House of Commons of the United Kingdom had its business chiefly in the affairs of the United Kingdom, and had so far abdicated its position of an Imperial Parliament. It was so occupied with local questions, as to be little inclined to pay attention to Imperial matters. But were it not so, any representatives from the Colonies would be swamped, for their number must be so limited in proportion to the members for the United Kingdom, that they could not possibly have an influential or weighty voice in its deliberations. He therefore considered, with Mr. Labillière, that it was now necessary to form some other council which should deal with Imperial matters. Not only was this desirable, but he regarded it as the right of the Colonies to demand it, and he hoped that sooner or later it would be granted. There was no doubt that if war, in which England was conquered, broke out, the Colonies would suffer as much as the United Kingdom, from the conqueror. Surely, then, they had a right to pronounce an opinion upon questions which might lead to war, and whether and how it should be waged. And if they did this, they would be bound to contribute their share towards carrying on the war and bringing it to a successful issue. Thus he agreed that a new council was necessary to deal with Imperial matters. At the same time he thought, in the present state of the public mind, they ought not to ask too much. He would be inclined to be satisfied with a very moderate representation from the Colonies, to surround, as it were, the

Secretary for the Colonies, to advise him not merely as the India Council, who might be consulted or not. But he thought on certain matters which might be specified, it should be the duty of the Colonial Secretary to take the advice of such a council. Sir George Campbell had said, that ninety-nine men out of a hundred met in the street knew little of Colonial matters. So far as England was concerned, he considered that one in a hundred would be quite sufficient in a constituency to elect suitable members of such a council. The Colonies could, no doubt, send suitable representatives, and he thought that a council in the first instance, surrounding the Colonial Secretary, would be sufficient, the secretary being bound to consult them, and it would depend upon their own ability, whether or not they had a very important influence, and became an institution of the very greatest consideration in the country. The noble chairman concluded by calling upon Mr. Chesson to read the paper which he had prepared.

F. W. CHESSON, Esq. (Secretary to the Aborigines Protection Society), then read the following paper :—

THE PAST AND PRESENT OF FIJI.

THOSE who are anxious to bring about the disintegration of the British Colonial Empire, and who only four or five years ago appeared to be on the eve of realising their wishes, must have been greatly depressed by the proceedings connected with the opening of the present session of Parliament. They had already sustained a series of reverses which might well have affected the spirits of a much more powerful party. But it now fell to their lot to find that the Queen's Speech contained the most practical repudiation of those doctrines of disunion which, at one time, threatened to sap the foundations of England's Colonial power. The demand for disintegration is met by a policy of annexation ; and Her Majesty, in addressing her Parliament in this year of grace, instead of having to lament the loss of a province, has to rejoice in the acquisition of one. The tables are fairly turned. The England of Victoria has again become the England of Elizabeth, tempered, I hope, with those qualities of justice and mercy which were little known, and still less practised, in the age of Cecil and Raleigh.

We are justly entitled to take pride in the annexation of Fiji to the British dominions. Within the wide circle of the southern ocean there are no islands which surpass those of Fiji in natural beauty, productiveness, geographical position, and I would also add, in the capacity of the native inhabitants for civilisation ; no

part of the Pacific contains finer harbours, offers more impregnable means of defence, lies more conveniently in the direct track from Australia to British Columbia and San Francisco, or is more favourably situated in relation to other groups in Polynesia. That "studded archipelago," so rich in cotton, sugar, spices, drugs, dyes, breadfruits, and every kind of tropical produce, is now British territory, by virtue of no act of conquest, no deed of spoliation, no web of intrigue and deceit, but by the free consent of the inhabitants, both native and European, and by the force of circumstances which incontestibly prove that Providence had ordained what England has so tardily consummated.

I am anxious to recall attention to the paragraph in the Queen's Speech to which I have already referred. Her Majesty says: "The king and chiefs of Fiji having made a new offer of their islands, unfettered by conditions, I have thought it right to accept the cession of a territory which, independently of its large natural resources, offers important maritime advantages to my fleets in the Pacific." It would be difficult to conceive of a transaction which more completely realised one's idea of a just and righteous annexation. There is no question here of despoiling Naboth of his vineyard, or of playing the fillibuster in a distant sea,—

"—like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific, and all his men
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise."

The king and chiefs of Fiji have experienced at our hands neither intimidation nor cajolery. They have at least four times, unsolicited, pressed upon our representatives their desire to become subjects of Great Britain; and when, after so long and so provoking a delay on our part, we at last consented to accept the sovereignty of the two hundred islands which form the new colony, they agreed to withdraw all the conditions they had endeavoured to make for themselves, and to confide in the generosity and good faith of their new rulers. I believe that our title to Fiji is without a flaw which even a microscope could discover, and that if the Marquis de Boissy were yet living, his distempered imagination would fail to conjure out of the occurrences to which I have referred the semblance of an accusation against perfidious Albion. I dwell upon this subject because in some quarters there is a tendency to lump every kind of annexation together, and to assume that they are all alike tainted; but without entering into an irrelevant discussion on a subject of this nature, I may point out that, although before deciding upon the expediency of a particular annexation, it may be necessary to take many things into consider-

ation, there is one, and only one, infallible test of the justice of the act itself, and that is the willingness of the people themselves to be annexed. A plebiscite may be illusory because it may be in the power of knavish officials to tamper with the ballot-boxes—the public may possess no security that a stroke of the pen will not turn a minority into a majority ; but such an act of cession as that which Thakombau and the lesser chiefs of Fiji have made fulfils all the conditions which reasonable human beings would desire in such a case to see exacted. I think that every successive step Lord Carnarvon has taken since the two Royal Commissioners—Commodore Goodenough and Mr. Consul Layard—made their report, amply justifies the confidence so generally felt in his statesmanlike ability. It is true that his boldness was tempered with caution. He might have been content to accept the results of the inquiry set on foot by the late Government—an inquiry which the two Commissioners prosecuted with great ability and thoroughness, but he wisely determined to take no final step until Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of New South Wales, had an opportunity of reviewing the entire situation. Mr. Gladstone, in his last speech on the subject in the House of Commons, disparaged his own Commissioners, who reported strongly in favour of annexation ; but although Lord Carnarvon would have been fully justified in acting on their report, yet he abstained from what might have been regarded as precipitate action, and at the same time insisted that if the cession took place at all, it should be an unconditional one ; while, on the other hand, he showed, by the large powers he gave to Sir Hercules Robinson, that he was perfectly ready to carry out a bold, and what—for want of a better word—I must call an English policy.

It would, I think, be much easier to prove that the annexation took place too late than too soon. Fiji was as ripe for it in 1859 as in 1874, and although the same urgency did not exist in the earlier as in the later period, our statesmen ought to have foreseen—for there can be no statesmanship where there is no foresight—that if the group were not annexed by Great Britain, the interests of civilisation would be imperilled, and our own good name would suffer. See what has grown out of the policy we have pursued. Lawlessness and anarchy in Fiji, and the prevalence of an odious system of slave-trading in the Pacific. There can be no question that the horrible iniquities which have desolated so many islands of the South Seas, and the suppression of which has entailed upon this country great responsibility and expense, took their root in the disorganisation and unbridled license that prevailed in Fiji

before British authority made itself distinctly felt in the island. If we had been as anxious to do our duty as we apparently were to evade it, the history of mankind in the southern hemisphere might have been spared a long catalogue of crimes, beginning with many ruthless acts of kidnapping and murder, and unfortunately culminating in the martyrdom of the most apostolic of missionary bishops. Even if Fiji had been annexed in 1870, instead of 1875, I think there can be no doubt that much bloodshed and misery would have been prevented.

It must not be forgotten that our way had been prepared by the Wesleyan missionaries, who, coming over from the Friendly Islands, first began their labours at Lakemba and Rewa in the year 1834. Some day, I hope, these noble men will meet with a chronicler able to do justice to their heroic labours. Their "footsteps on the sands of time" are not likely soon to be obliterated; for they succeeded with no other weapon than the Bible, with no other power than the authority of truth and the influence of example, in transforming a race of cannibals into a community of professing Christians. I will not attempt to describe the deeds of revolting cruelty daily perpetrated by these worse than barbarians. Suffice it to say, that at a recent date one powerful chief could point to a mound of three hundred human skulls belonging to the enemies he had eaten, and that Thakombau began his sanguinary career at six years of age by clubbing a prisoner of war to death; while in the plenitude of his power as a successful conqueror he is said to have significantly reminded a too clamorous European creditor that "the flesh of the white man was like ripe bananas." All these horrors have gradually passed away. Cannibalism has been driven to its last haunts in the mountains of Viti Levu; and although it would be folly to suppose that Christian teaching has succeeded in destroying all the vices which stained the savage nature, it is tolerably certain that in no other country in the world has so great a moral revolution been achieved within the limits of a single generation. The truth is, that the Fijians have always been peculiarly subject to European influence. It is said that at the beginning of the present century, an Englishman who adopted the paint and dress of a Fijian, and placed himself at the head of a body of natives, was able, with the assistance of a single flint-lock musket, to gain numerous victories over his foes. This story may be more than matched by the experience of individual missionaries in Fiji, who have accomplished the most difficult of all enterprises—that of inducing Pagan cannibals to abandon the loathsome orgies which made them devils rather

than men, and to substitute for their human ovens and temples of divination the pure and simple altars of the Christian religion. The reality of this change cannot for a moment be doubted. Fiji has its martyrology, no less than Smithfield or the Roman Colosseum; and I have seldom read a more affecting instance of the softening influence of Christianity on the minds of barbarians than that which occurred in the island of Ono, when the Christian natives, whose destruction was sought by their pagan countrymen, having succeeded in capturing the position of their enemies and in making them prisoners, freely spared their lives, and allowed them to return home in peace. The historian of the event says: "Hereby a greater victory was won; for the hard hearts of the heathens were softened by this unexpected and unmerited clemency, and no more opposition was shown to the true religion, but many who had before been its enemies now confessed its power, and sought Christian teaching."* I cannot further pursue these details. The aggregate results of missionary efforts in Fiji were stated in the House of Commons by my friend Mr. Alderman M'Arthur. It appears that in the islands there are 611 chapels, attended by 107,250 persons, and 1,389 day schools, in which 45,243 children are receiving education. As the whole population of Fiji is only estimated at 140,500, it was not surprising that Mr. Gladstone should have been startled at the proportion of the inhabitants who were alleged to attend public worship. But his own Commissioners, on the authority of the Rev. Frederick Langham, raise the number to 113,000; and at the same time they satisfactorily explain the apparent anomaly by stating that "every person in a 'lotued' (or Christian) town goes to church, and every woman takes her child."

The Wesleyans having thus prepared the way for the introduction of a civilised power into Fiji, Mr. Consul Pritchard visited this country in 1859 as the bearer of Thakombau's offer to cede the country to Great Britain, an offer which was ratified by the other principal chiefs of the group. Mr. Pritchard was an enthusiastic advocate of annexation. He believed that the looms of Lancashire were to be kept going with Fijian cotton, and that the dearth of rags in our paper mills was to be made good by large importations of the bark of Fijian trees. Like all pioneers of a new idea, he did not meet with the success he merited, and in one quarter, as he told me himself, he was absurdly denounced as a Russian agent. No doubt Thakombau at that time was largely moved by a desire

* Mr. Calvert's "Missionary Labours among the Cannibals."

to get rid of certain preposterous American claims, which, although only amounting to £9,000, hung like a millstone round his neck. The claims themselves, as well as the manner in which a recognition of his liability in connection with them was extorted from him, were an outrage upon justice, and ought to have opened the eyes of the British Government to the extreme importance of preventing the establishment of a foreign jurisdiction in islands so likely to fall a prey to the cupidity of some rival power. Although I suspect there was no desire on the part of our statesmen to do anything at all, yet it was necessary to go through the form of doing something; for besides Mr. Pritchard's mission to England, the Legislative Council of New South Wales, on the motion of Mr. A. McArthur, now M.P. for Leicester, adopted an address to Her Majesty in favour of the annexation of Fiji. Colonel Smythe, R.E., was therefore appointed a Commissioner to report upon the expediency of the acceptance by the Home Government of the proffered cession. I think that at the outset that gallant officer was placed in a false position. Considering the gravity of his mission, he ought to have had a colleague; and the very fact that he has since seen reason to change his opinion (although his frankness in avowing that change deserves all praise) only confirms my view as to the undesirability of leaving questions of this magnitude to be determined by the necessarily fallible judgment of one man. I cannot forget that the report of a single Commissioner led the British Government not only to refuse to annex Fiji in 1860, but also to order the abandonment of one of the finest and most extensive provinces of South Africa, and to turn, so far as that might be practicable, a community of British subjects into a nation of foreigners. It is therefore in no unfriendly spirit that I propose briefly to criticise Colonel Smythe's report, and to compare it with what we now know concerning Fiji.

That gallant officer gave an interesting description of the group. At that time the English public knew little concerning it, except that geographically it was situated somewhere in the Pacific, and that it was inhabited by numerous tribes of cannibals. Ethnologists, like my friend Mr. Haliburton, may have studied the manners and customs of the Fijians in order to shed light upon the early history of our race, but the great majority of readers, I suspect, only knew of Fiji as a country which was sunk in the lowest depths of barbarism. It is true that Captain Cook had noticed the skill of Fijians as sailors, and the talent they displayed as workmen, especially in canoe-building and carved work, and in the manufacture of pottery, cloth, and appliances of a seafaring cha-

racter. But where one person was likely to be familiar with Captain Cook's testimony, a thousand would only remember the fact of the great navigator's murder upon another island in the Pacific. Colonel Smythe, in his description of the group, passed in review its 200 islands and islets, each surrounded by a coral-reef; its two larger islands of a size unusual for the Pacific; and its robust population, engaged in cultivating their yam and taro plots, or "sailing in their canoes, fishing, and frequently fighting." He remarked upon the extent to which the naturally dark complexion of the race had been modified by admixture with the lighter-coloured natives of Tonga, many of whom had settled in Eastern Fiji, and under Maafu conquered for themselves a position there. He did justice to the success which had attended the labours of the Wesleyan missionaries, and he paid a tribute to the healthiness of the climate, and to the facility with which the sugar-cane and the coffee-tree were cultivated. All these subjects were briefly touched upon by Colonel Smythe before he came to the gist of the matter. Three principal reasons in favour of annexation had been submitted to the Government. It was alleged that the islands would prove a useful place of call for mail-steamers running between Panama and Sydney; that they would afford this country a supply of cotton of superior quality; and that both geographically and in consequence of the security of their harbours, they would form an excellent naval station for our Australian fleet. Upon these three points Colonel Smythe reported adversely. He denied that Fiji was in the direct route to Panama; he declared that the possession of a naval station in the western part of the Pacific was "not only not required, but would be a source of embarrassment in the event of war;" and as for poor Consul Pritchard's pet idea that Fiji might be made a means of supplying the busy hives of Lancashire with the raw material of their great industry, he expressed the opinion that "whether by natives or by white planters with native labourers, the supply of cotton from Fiji can never be otherwise than insignificant." I am sure that these opinions were as sincerely entertained by Colonel Smythe as they were moderately expressed by him; but we know that subsequent investigation led every man of judgment, including, I believe, the gallant officer himself, to arrive at exactly opposite conclusions. With regard to the question of cotton supply, we have since learnt, on the authority of Dr. Seeman, the eminent botanist, that "in the whole group there is scarcely a rood of ground that might not be cultivated with cotton, or that has not at one time or other produced a crop." Sea-island cotton readily made for itself a home in Fiji;

and, in the opinion of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, if it were properly cultivated, it would prove equal, if not superior, to the finest samples from Georgia.* The best comment on the prediction that the quantity of the staple grown must always be "insignificant," is the fact that between 1862 and 1870 cotton of the value of £140,000 was exported from the islands. It is true that this may appear like the grain of mustard-seed in the parable, but we may truly say of the one as of the other, that "when it is sown it groweth up and becometh greater than all herbs." With reference to the alleged unsuitableness of Fiji as a mail station, the best answer to this statement is the fact that the mail steamers between Sydney and San Francisco now call there; while as regards the third important question upon which Colonel Smythe pronounced an unfavourable opinion, I believe I do not exaggerate when I state that the highest naval authorities, especially those who, like Admiral Erskine, are able to speak from intimate personal knowledge of the country, have long since recognised the great maritime importance of Fiji. In fact, it may without exaggeration be described as the Malta of the Pacific.

In the history of native races there are few things more instructive than the repeated efforts made between 1865 and 1867 to establish in Fiji something like a regular form of government. At this time Thakombau was not King of Fiji, he was only Chief of Bau, and in Maafu the Tongan, whose influence was supreme in the eastern islands, he had a formidable rival. Maafu would, but for British opposition, have swallowed up all the other potentates in the group, and proved himself the veritable Napoleon or Bismarck of Fiji. If Thakombau had addressed him in the language of a Fijian proverb, this is the one he would probably have selected :—

"Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all."

These two powerful chiefs, assisted by English secretaries, drew up written codes of law, and endeavoured to organise confederacies of territories and chiefdoms. Maafu, for example, formed the Lau confederation, which comprised one-third of the whole area of Fiji. In 1867 Thakombau was crowned king. A sum of twenty-five shillings was paid for the gilt crown used on the occasion, and the ceremony excited considerable ridicule; but it is only fair to state that Thakombau was fully conscious of the humour of the situation,

* "Fiji in 1870," by H. Britton, the special correspondent of the *Melbourne Argus*, contains much valuable information on the resources of Fiji.

and it should also be remembered that ultimately the mock sovereignty was turned into a real one.

Meanwhile, so far as the small European population was concerned, things were allowed to drift into a very dangerous state. Fiji soon became a harbour of refuge for absconding debtors and criminals from Australia. The British Consul had no judicial power whatever. He was unable to deal even with English subjects who were guilty of offences against their own countrymen; and a story is told of a man who, on being charged with having attempted to stab another in Levuka, defied the authority of the Consul, and was allowed to get off scot-free, by making an apology. In 1871 Lord Kimberley declined to undertake a protectorate of the group, but, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, he offered "to give such aid as may be in their power, through the Consul, for the maintenance of order, until the European community can establish a regular government." I have always regarded this decision with profound regret. Speaking merely my own opinion, I do not believe it was desirable that a British Minister should encourage any body of British subjects to set up an independent government of their own, and I also think the fact that such a government was to be established in an uncivilised territory did not in the least affect the principle at stake. However, unfortunately for the interests of civilisation, subjects of the Queen, resident in Fiji, were permitted to try their 'prentice hands at the formation of what may be called an Anglo-Fijian kingdom. Thakombau became the titular sovereign; Maafu was designated Viceroy; a Cabinet was formed out of such materials as were available among the Europeans; and a Legislature, partly nominated and partly elective, also made its appearance on the scene. I have no intention of giving a detailed narrative of the proceedings of the men who, for two years, ruled in the name of King Thakombau. I should as soon think of becoming Thakombau's poet-laureate as the historian of the adventurers whose doings were so effectually exposed by Mr. Consul March and his immediate successor Mr. Michell, and also by the Europeans who suffered grievous wrong at their hands. I will, however, recall two or three facts. It is well known that more than once disorders broke out among the Europeans, and that if it had not been for the presence of an English frigate in the harbour of Levuka, a state of civil war would have ensued. Taxes were levied without the consent of the Legislature; a worthless and practically irredeemable paper currency was foisted upon the people, and laws were passed empowering the authorities to punish natives who neglected to pay their taxes with six months' hard

labour on the plantations. One Bill was introduced declaring that it should be lawful for the king to issue warrants for the arrest and detention of any persons suspected of treasonable practices ; while another Bill provided that any person arrested in a proclaimed district, " who did not prove that he had been a person of good behaviour during the three preceding calendar months, should be deemed a disorderly person within the meaning of the Act, and should be liable to be imprisoned in any gaol for any term not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour." How cruelly the law, authorising the temporary enslavement of defaulting taxpayers, proved in operation, was subsequently brought to light by Sir Hercules Robinson : and although I shall depart somewhat from the chronological order I have laid down, I think it important to quote his testimony on this subject. He says : " There being little ready money amongst the natives, payment has been accepted in kind, and the tax-collector has been accompanied by a broker, whose custom it was to take over at a low valuation the agricultural produce, fishing nets, sleeping mats, axes, &c., and the articles of domestic use and convenience which the people had to part with and sacrifice to meet the demands of the Government. In some districts the people were too poor to be able to satisfy the tax, even in this manner ; and painful accounts have recently been published in the newspapers as to the wholesale way in which the entire male population of large districts have been removed from their homes, and their services in effect sold to such of the European planters as were willing to pay to the Government the tax, with the costs that had accrued in instituting legal proceedings for its recovery." I do not think anyone will challenge the statement that this was slavery in a most specious form. Moreover, Fiji had become the centre of a system of slave-trading which has resulted in the devastation of some of the fairest islands of the Pacific ; and many persons occupying positions of influence in the group are known to have shared in the profits and advantages of that nefarious traffic. It should not be forgotten that the notorious *Carl* sailed twice from Levuka on its errand of robbery and murder, and on each occasion returned to that port with a cargo of kidnapped Polynesians. The horrors perpetrated during these two voyages were brought to light by the efforts of the British Consul, Mr. March, and it is a fact that the Fijian Government lent him no assistance in the steps he took to bring the criminals to justice.

Simultaneously with kidnapping in other groups, there grew up in Fiji itself an inter-island slave trade. Chiefs whose cupidity

could be successfully appealed to were induced to enter into contracts for the supply of native Fijians as labourers on the plantations—a system manifestly open to grave abuses. Many of the victims suffered greatly from their enforced servitude. The overcrowding of the small vessels used in the labour traffic occasioned great misery. In one case which at the time was brought under my notice, a small boat, of sixteen tons burthen, was made to convey 120 human beings a distance of ninety miles by sea; and I am assured that the horrors of the old “middle passage” were reproduced on a small scale in the waters of the Fiji archipelago. In 1873, Thakombau, after waging successful war against the mountain tribes of Viti Levu, reduced a thousand prisoners—men, women, and children—virtually to a condition of slavery. They were offered to the planters for a period of years on the payment of a certain annual contribution to the Treasury, but Commodore Goodenough put a stop to the practice. Sir Charles Dilke and Sir Wilfrid Lawson were afraid that the annexation of Fiji would involve us in grave responsibilities, on account of the alleged existence of domestic slavery among the natives. I cannot discover that any basis for this apprehension really exists, but I am quite sure that the non-annexation of Fiji would have resulted in the creation of a permanently servile or slave class; and I therefore think that those who desired the abolition of slavery ought to have supported the only means by which we can hope effectually to carry out an anti-slavery policy.

The late Government despatched Commodore Goodenough and Mr. Consul Layard to report upon the different modes of action which it was open to us to pursue. They made a very careful investigation of the state of Fiji in the early months of the year 1874, and they both came to the conclusion that they saw “no prospect for these islands, should Her Majesty’s Government decline to accept the offer of cession, but ruin to the English planters and confusion in the native government.” It would be impossible to imagine a stronger expression of opinion than this, or one which more completely justified the action taken by Mr. Alderman M’Arthur in thrice bringing this subject before the House of Commons. It redounds to the credit of that honourable gentleman that, undismayed by the formidable opposition of the late Prime Minister, he persisted in his efforts to secure the establishment of British authority in Fiji until his object was gained; and I commend his patriotic and successful example to those who feel depressed at the slow progress which Colonial questions sometimes make. What action the late Government would have taken

upon the report of their Commissioners can only be a matter of surmise, but unquestionably in the debate raised by Mr. M^rArthur in the session of last year, Mr. Gladstone expressed himself in language extremely hostile to the proposal. Lord Carnarvon, however, was so far favourable to an immediate policy of annexation, that he entrusted Sir Hercules Robinson with the power to give effect to it if the chiefs would consent to an unconditional cession; and as those terms were agreed to, Mr. Disraeli was able to announce at the Guildhall banquet in November that "a new province had been added to the Empire."

I think that those who have read the report of Sir Hercules Robinson's mission must feel that we have not an ignorant race of savages to deal with, but men capable of understanding the duties and obligations that devolve upon the subjects of a civilised power. In reply to the remark that it would not be dignified for Great Britain to accept conditions, Thakombau made a little speech, which would have done no discredit to him even if he had not started in life as a cannibal, and if, in addition, he had been educated in a more academic atmosphere than the island of Bau. He said: "True, true, the Queen is right: it is not chief-like to make conditions. I was always opposed to it, but I was overruled. When the Commodore and Consul came here they took different ground to that which you have taken. They kept saying: 'Tell us what you want,' and pressing me to do so—hence the conditions attached to the offer of cession. If I give a chief a canoe, and he knows I expect something from him, I do not say: 'I give you this canoe on condition of your only sailing it on certain days, or your not letting such and such a man go into it, or your only using a particular kind of rope with it,' but I give him the canoe right out, and trust to his generosity and good faith to make me the return which he knows I expect. If I were to attach those conditions, he would probably say, 'Bother your canoe! I can do very well without it.'" In the same conversation the king showed that he rightly appreciated the position of affairs, by remarking, that "without English interference Fiji must become a piece of drift-wood on the sea, to be picked up by the first passer-by." Maafu possesses as large a share of shrewd humour as his rival. It appears that when Commodore Goodenough asked him why he had refused to send his taxes to the Government at Levuka, he replied, "Why should I? I live in the Windward Islands. When I cut down a cocoa-nut tree it floats down to the Leeward Islands, but, like the taxes, no part ever comes back."

Mr. Gladstone expressed his fear that the wars of New Zealand

would be repeated in the islands of Fiji. In fact, he sounded that note of alarm which is most likely to excite uneasiness in the mind of the British taxpayer. But I believe I am correct in saying that the difficulties in New Zealand originated in the neglect of the Imperial Government to ascertain the nature of the land tenures of the natives. If at the outset it had been properly understood that every block of land had several owners, and that no land could be alienated without the consent of the chiefs, it is probable that the wars which at one time checked the progress of the great antipodean Colony would never have taken place. The special correspondent of the *Times* at Levuka gives the substance of the promises made by Sir Hercules Robinson to the king. His Excellency, he states, assured Thakombau "that all lands which can be shown to have been fairly and honestly acquired by whites shall be secured to them; that all lands that are now in the actual, use or occupation of any chief or tribe, and as much land as may be necessary for the probable future support and maintenance of any chief or tribe, shall be set apart for them; and that all the residue of the land shall go to the Government, not for the personal advantage of Her Majesty or the members of any Government, but for the general good, for the purposes of rule and order." I do not intend to enter upon the controversial part of the land question, for this is not the place in which it ought to be discussed. All I wish to say is, that if Sir Arthur Gordon acts upon the principles laid down by Sir Hercules Robinson—and I feel sure that he will do so—practically no room will be left for such disputes as have unhappily disturbed the peace of some other Colonies.

I have already referred to the second important objection against the annexation of Fiji, which was raised by Sir Charles Dilke last year—*i.e.* the existence of slavery among the natives. The Royal Commissioners give a lucid explanation of the nature of the service which is exacted from the common people. They state that "the old position of the great body of natives towards their chiefs is one of undefined serfdom, moderated by certain customs. A chief has food brought to him and to his followers, and has always been accustomed to exact contributions of mats, oil, &c. from those who look to him as their head. These contributions, which are necessarily vexatious because uncertain and arbitrary, have been and are still made at the present time, and are greatly valued by the chiefs, as perhaps the greatest proofs of superiority they can show." Mr. Thurston, in a memorandum upon the ownership of land in Fiji, gives a more detailed explanation. According to him, "the

principle of the system recognises the supreme chief as the grantor of the land, and leaves the usufruct (subject to certain conditions) in the hands of the grantees, *i.e.* Qali chiefs and people." From some, domestic or military services are required; from others, presents of food or manufactured articles, such as mats, earthen pots, native cloth, &c. Mr. Thurston calls this service "*lala*," and says: "It is equivalent to rent, and if properly rendered, involves no wrong or unjust principle. If used despotically, it becomes *vakasaurara*, or tyranny. The one is a recognised right or obligation of chief and people respectively, the other is not recognised, and, in time, produces upon Fijians the same results as tyranny does among other people—conspiracy and rebellion, with secret murder or open war." Surely this feudal system—desirable as it may be to abolish it—ought not to be confounded with slavery, or with the buying and selling of human beings. There can be no doubt that grievous acts of oppression take place, and that it will be our duty to secure to every Fijian the blessings of personal freedom and security; but if the new laws are worked with judgment, and if we endeavour to obtain the intelligent co-operation of the chiefs themselves, I doubt not that Sir Arthur Gordon will be able to do for Fiji what Governor Strahan is doing with so much courage and skill for the Gold Coast.

I have already referred to the fertility of Fiji and the great variety of its productions. Messrs. Goodenough and Layard are emphatically of opinion that it is the home of the sugar-cane as well as of the cotton plant. They say: "A single sample of ten tons of sugar has been produced and sent to Australia, and two mills are now being erected, three more having been ordered. Every planter is making an experiment of a small acreage of cane, of which there are several indigenous varieties of good quality; and men who have experience of cane-growing in Queensland and in the West Indies have pronounced a very favourable opinion on the quality of the Fijian cane. There can be no doubt whatever that sugar will be the chief industry of the best lands of Viti Levu, Taviuni, and Vanua Levu, while cotton remains the staple produce of the Windward and smaller islands." I am glad to say that the reports which have been received in this country since Sir Hercules Robinson's visit, entirely confirm the opinions thus expressed. As for the climate, Dr. Messer, Staff-Surgeon of H.M.S. *Pearl*, has written an excellent and encouraging report on that subject. He states that "in Fiji, as far as experience has yet gone, there exists a most extraordinary freedom from not only tropical diseases, but also from most of those diseases which, in England and other

countries, yearly cause a large amount of sickness and death." Dysentery is the only disease which Europeans have to dread, and Dr. Messer attributes it "to high temperature, associated with exposure to chills, and living in badly-constructed houses, indiscretion in living, and using bad food and water." There is no doubt that in Fiji dysentery is, to a large extent, preventible, and that its ravages are mainly owing, not to the climate, but to bad habits and impure sanitary conditions. Dr. Messer says: "Of the occurrence of epilepsy and insanity no reliable information has been obtained; but of the prevalence of *delirium tremens* there is no lack of evidence." The natives use a powerful intoxicant, the taste of which is compared to that of "Gregory's Mixture" flavoured with soap-suds; and, unfortunately, too many of the Europeans have yielded to the temptations of "kava drinking," or the brandy-bottle. To make the climate of Fiji responsible for the consequences of personal excess is an absurdity which even the morbid victims of *delirium tremens* would hardly perpetrate. But while, of course, it is impossible effectually to protect men against their own appetites, no doubt much can be done by sanitary and other measures to confine preventible diseases within the narrowest limits.

A perusal of the last batch of correspondence, which has been presented to Parliament since the opening of the present session, confirms me in the opinion that Sir Hercules Robinson, by his judicious arrangements, has given the infant Colony a good start. He thinks that the debt of £87,631 may be reduced to about £71,000 or £72,000; he proposes that a Commission should at once be appointed to inquire into the validity of European titles to land, and to determine the extent and boundaries of native properties; he declares that the contributions of labour or food which the people are required to make to their chiefs are simply the native mode of paying rent for the land; and, with regard to the 7,000 cannibals in the interior of Viti Levu, who, according to Sir Wilfrid Lawson's amusing speech, were to descend from their mountains and eat up the 113,000 Christians, his Excellency expresses his conviction that they will never be dangerous, and that "as the means of communication with the interior improves, the mountain tribes will gradually follow the example of their maritime neighbours, and, accepting Christianity and a teacher, acknowledge submission to the Government." For my part, I see no reason why Fiji, under the British Government, should not become one of the most flourishing and healthy of our Colonies; why its splendid soil should not be made to yield cotton, coffee, and sugar

in rich abundance ; and why both natives and Europeans should not live together in peace and goodwill. Without anticipating that Fiji will ever be an Arcadia, and without indulging in any romantic illusions as to the ideal perfectibility of human nature, I think the new Colony cannot fail to be a good place to live in, so long as its rulers act in the spirit which has pervaded both the despatches of Lord Carnarvon and the mission of the Governor-General of New South Wales.

In conclusion, I feel constrained again to ask the question, Why was Fiji not annexed at an earlier period ? No doubt some people would answer by saying that it is very undesirable prematurely to increase our responsibilities ; but even if this narrow view be the true one, it should not be forgotten that the suffering inflicted upon others was greatly aggravated, and our own responsibilities enormously increased, by the delay which took place. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there is a great English population at the antipodes, and that inheriting as they do the adventurous spirit of the race from which they have sprung, it is our duty to follow them with the restraints of law and order, and to enable them to found Colonies which shall add real lustre to the fame of England. A movement of population in another direction may soon be anticipated. The explorations of Captain Moresby have attracted the attention of the Australian world to New Guinea, and questions may suddenly arise as to that country—so lately a *terra incognita*—which will tax the statesmanship and also the capacity for prompt action of the men at the helm. Let us hope that the mistakes made in Fiji will in this case be avoided, and that whatever the future may have in store for New Guinea, our statesmen will not expose themselves to the reproach of having failed to profit by past errors.

At the risk of appearing to indulge in an anti-climax, I must pay the tribute which I think ought to be paid on an occasion like the present to the value of the co-operation which has been rendered on this question by the Australian Colonies, especially by the Colony of New South Wales. It appears probable that this co-operation will be continued to Fiji in the form of a pecuniary contribution of £4,000 a year each from New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand—an addition to the local revenue which will go far to enable the new Colony to start with an efficient administration. An enormous mistake would have been made if, from economical motives, inferior men had been appointed to administer the affairs of Fiji. It is therefore gratifying to learn that the Colonies which have taken the most interest in the annexation,

by helping to solve the financial difficulty, have got rid of the danger which jeopardised the cause of good government in the islands. They have thereby set an example of patriotism and public spirit which, I am sure, will exercise a salutary influence upon the future relations of the mother country with her Colonies; and they have also materially assisted to show how a necessary extension of territory may be effected without imposing inequitable burdens upon Great Britain. Finally, they have enforced this great lesson—that civilisation can only make real progress in the Pacific under the guidance of a powerful and united Empire—an Empire which is determined that human rights shall be respected wherever its authority extends, and that just laws shall be established in the remotest island which yields obedience to the sceptre of the Queen.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (late M.P. for Falmouth) said he had listened with very great pleasure to the able paper which Mr. Chesson had read. He was sure that all those who took an interest in such questions must feel very much indebted to Mr. Chesson, and he was equally sure that Sir Charles Wingfield would agree with him, that much of what they had had the privilege of bringing before Parliament was due to Mr. Chesson. He had no doubt also that his friend, Mr. Jenkins, who so ably advocated such questions in the present House of Parliament, would acknowledge that he was very much indebted to Mr. Chesson. The very able paper which that gentleman had read showed a deep interest in the subject, and as he was sure there were very many gentlemen present much better able to do justice to it than he, he would not detain the meeting. But he ventured to ask the meeting to allow him to read a few words from a gentleman who was a very great authority, namely, Mr. Consul March. He was a gentleman to whom the British Empire owed a debt of gratitude, who had exerted himself in the very difficult and invidious position of consul at Fiji, to put down the slave trade, which at the present moment was such a disgrace to humanity. He held in his hand a letter, which came home a few days ago from Mr. Consul March, and he thought the remarks contained in the letter were worthy the attention of the meeting and the public at large. He therefore asked permission to read the letter, which was to the following effect, dated December 14th, 1874, from the British Legation at Lima:—

British Legation, Lima, Dec. 14, 1874.

MY DEAR MR. FOWLER,—I am chary of intruding upon your valuable time, and yet hardly like to abstain from acquainting you with my arrival at the post which you did so much to secure for me, and say how glad I should be of any opportunity to serve you in this part of the world. On reaching Callao, early in September, I got despatches from Lord Derby, directing me to take charge of the Legation, which had become vacant by the death of Mr. Jerningham, and I have been here ever since. The only drawback to so agreeable a change is the recollection that in a day or two Mr. Spencer St. John, who succeeds Mr. Jerningham, will arrive, and cause me to drop into a quiet consul again. I am really sorry for it, for I was getting on capitally, and the billet would just have suited me. The revolution which has broken out in the country has not yet extended to Lima, though an attempt was made at Callao to seize the fort and proclaim Pierola as president. This quiet in the capital will not last long, and it is difficult to foretell how it will all end. I really believe that the present Government is the best the country has ever had, and that the president—Don Manuel Pardo—is a man of good common sense, honestly inclined, and very energetic. His ministers are not worth much, and if left to themselves would be perfectly useless. You are aware that guano and nitrate of soda are the two great exports of Peru. It now appears that the export of the latter is competing so successfully with guano, as to cause considerable anxiety lest it should supplant it altogether. Hence it is intended to impose an almost prohibitory duty on the sale of nitrate, and it is this interference with that industry which has given the insurrectionary leaders so much advantage over Pardo. Since penning the above, news has reached us of the defeat of the insurrectionists, though the leaders have managed to make good their escape into the neighbouring republic of Bolivia, whence, I suppose, they will sooner or later renew their attempt. The success of Pardo will doubtless give his government a new lease of life, and enable him to carry out with a strong hand the reforms upon which I believe he is bent, and which have in a great measure been the cause of his unpopularity with the party affected by them. The country is in a wretched state of insolvency—quite penniless. Trade is at its lowest ebb, and everything wears a gloomy aspect. It is to be hoped that the reaction will not set in. So dear old Fiji has at last been annexed! Not a bit too soon. A good governor—it does not require a particularly clever one, but a man of definite views, and determination, to carry them out—will derive such a revenue from them as to rather astonish the Imperial Government. The natives are perfectly tractable, and not at all warlike. It is the meddlesome whites that must be looked after. They have always been the cause of all the mischief in the South Seas. I have read in the *Times* Mr. Layard's plan for paying off the natives imported. Nothing easier, if the rules which govern contracts among civilised people are to be set aside. (See *Times* of October 29th, 1874.) "The cost of passage money varies with the demand for labour, from £10 to £15 per man," says Consul Layard, and then adds, "return passage money 10s." (It ranges from 20s. to 40s.) If the labour question in Fiji is not slavery disguised, how is it that there is such a difference in the rates of "passage money" to and from the islands? The distance is the same. The "labourers" are carried under similar conditions, and if vessels can be found to take them to their homes for, we will say 40s., why do the planters give the extra £10 or £12 on their arrival in Fiji? The fact is, that on the arrival of fresh Polynesians at Leirika, they are sold to the planters, and it is from the competition that prevails that the price is regulated. Consul Layard goes on to say: "I find that the mortality among labourers is almost confined to the year of their arrival, as the change from the misery and starvation of their islands, to the abundance which they find here, affects them." Really I cannot stand this. I have taken too much interest in these unfortunate people, to let such an error go forth without correction. The conditions of climate and soil of the islands, whence the labourers are obtained—with the exception of a few contiguous to the equator—are in all respects precisely similar to those of Fiji, and just so much "abundance" prevails in their homes, as in any foreign land to which they have been kidnapped. The real cause of the mortality in my opinion, as I am sure it is

in that of anyone who has given proper attention to the matter, consists in the inefficiency of vegetable food, absence of medical attention, and, above all, "home sickness." I know several cases in which these imported people have been made to seek their food (tivolis), wild yams, in the mountains of Tavinni, after having been all day working on the plantation! Such is the treatment they have received at the hands of white men, and yet an appeal is made in the name of justice and humanity for the "labourers," whilst the guilty ones are told that their condition has been brought about by no fault of their own (the planters), but from their misfortunes, and the defective organisation of the labour system. This "defective organization" had long since been pointed out by me, and if my views had been carried out, the present "great difficulty" would never have arisen. Then for the "settlement of the question and the avoiding of a great wrong," which Mr. Layard claims for himself, he intends compelling the "labourers" to work for another extra year. By what right is this to be enforced? Even supposing, for the sake of argument, that in the initial stages of the labourer's captivity, they are willing agents to such a compact, no one has a right to detain them in enforced toil to get their wages. Mr. Layard says he has in several instances been successful. How far successful? Successful only in the employer's view of the question, but certainly not the "labourer's." Servant's wages constitute a first charge upon property, and we are left in the dark as to "justice" on the side of the employers in "their inability to meet their engagements to the men." In defending the employers, Mr. Layard observes, that they are "bankrupt, their estates mortgaged, crop destroyed, or value absorbed by a prior lien, not a chance of receiving anything even by the lengthy process of the law." It is a misfortune for the "labourer" that there is no law open to him to enforce the terms of his contract. Who ever heard of an imported native suing his master for wages in Fiji? A "labourer" in those islands has never been granted the most ordinary rights conceded to the lowest class of free men in other countries, and even if they desired to try their grievances in a court of law (an absurdity), no one would be found to conduct their case. The "process of the law" sounds well, but it is a mockery to use the phrase in connection with the rights of the natives. These are only a few of the thoughts that have occurred to me in perusing Mr. Layard's address. I have not matured them, or done justice to them, for I have other matters requiring my attention. I should like to know what Mr. Chesson thinks of it. I have written to him, but I was ignorant at the time of the passage in question. But I must bring this lengthy epistle to an end. Wishing you most sincerely the compliments of the season,

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

EDWARD MARCH.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD said he entirely endorsed all that Mr. Fowler had said with reference to the obligations he and other members of the late Parliament were under to Mr. Chesson. In fact Mr. Chesson made their task easy, for he supplied them with the greater part of the information which they were enabled to adduce. With regard to the annexation of the Fiji Islands, he must express his regret that Mr. Gladstone did rather throw cold water upon the project, and at times showed a very determined opposition to it. He was grateful to Lord Carnarvon for having taken the steps he did. He (Sir Charles Wingfield) was always a supporter of the annexation of Fiji; not so much with a view to extending our Colonial empire, though he admitted the Fiji Islands were a very desirable acquisition, but he was mainly influenced by the consideration that in no other way would it be possible to put

a stop to the abominable kidnapping in the Pacific islands. He was quite certain that if the white population of Fiji had been allowed to form an independent Government, a great slave holding state would have grown up in those seas, and it would have been quite impossible for the efforts of a few cruisers, under the Pacific Islanders' Protection Act, to put a stop to the practices, because a government composed of planters would have a direct influence in obtaining labour at any means. He also agreed with Mr. Fowler that they owed a debt of gratitude to Mr. March, for it was through Mr. March that the atrocities were first so exposed as to arouse public feeling in this country. In doing this Mr. March had apparently almost marred his prospects, because he had incurred the bitter hostility of the white population. With regard to the letter which Mr. Fowler had read, it seemed to him it would have been improper to compensate the Europeans who had detained the natives often beyond the terms of their contracts, these contracts being as they knew in many instances a mere farce, the natives not understanding a word of them. But these and other matters he thought they might safely leave to be disposed of by the newly-appointed governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon. Having taken a deep interest in the question of the treatment of the Indian immigrants in the Mauritius, he felt the greatest confidence in Sir Arthur Gordon, because he had the courage to take a course which might perhaps not be overpleasing to the employers of labour there, though called for in justice to the weaker race; and he felt sure that Her Majesty could not have made a better selection for the government of the Fiji Islands, or one which could have inspired greater confidence.

Mr. EDWARD JENKINS, M.P., said he had been absent from the meetings of the Institute for some time, but he should like to recognise with gratitude the kindly and generous words which fell from the Chairman at the opening of the meeting, with reference to the important subjects discussed at the last meetings, which he regretted he was unable to attend. In fact, when he heard the Chairman speak, he often thought that whilst he professed to be a Tory, he was really at heart a very sincere Liberal. He really believed it was the highest, and also the profoundest Liberalism, which looked abroad for opportunities to develop the power of the British Empire within the wide dominions owing sway to Queen Victoria. With reference to the paper which Mr. Chesson had read, it showed all the exhaustive analysis which always characterised the productions of that gentleman, who was certainly one of the most industrious; and, as many members of Parliament knew, they had

often got up and made statements upon the sole responsibility of Mr. Chesson, knowing that he was so accurate a man. He considered they were, as a society, much indebted to Mr. Chesson for having brought together so many interesting facts with reference to the annexation of Fiji. That question, however, had now perhaps not so much interest as it used to have when they were fighting their way against influences, which were not only adverse to any proposal for annexation, but to the holding together of what were then the component parts of the British Empire. They had then, unquestionably, a battle to fight against influences abroad, and to a considerable extent amongst a large portion of the party which called themselves at that time the Liberal party. But he believed the battle was at an end; that the time had come when the people of England had waked up to the fact, that these great dominions had not been aggregated for the sole purpose of creating separate institutions, but that we, as well as the German nations, as well as the Austrian nations, had before us a greater future, and it was for us to strive rather to unite into a close union the various Colonies which had been formed in distant parts of the world. There was one thing, however, which had struck him, in listening to-night, which was—Was the annexation of Fiji to be all that was likely to take place with reference to the vast expanse of Polynesia? When the question was looked at, it seemed almost too gigantic to attempt a discussion of it. He could not, however, help referring to the fact, that one man had recently arrived in England with an astounding proposition, looked at from the point of view of a man who was in the immediate vicinity of the places concerned, and who had conceived the idea that it was destined for Polynesia to be by and by part of the great British race. Whether right or wrong, he could not help sympathising with the man, who, like many another before him, had looked out over the world and felt it was possible to conquer and take so enlarged a view. At all events, there was one aspect of the question which was very interesting, and that was the colonising power of the British Empire. What did they see going on in Canada and Australia? Were those places peopled only by those who went out from Great Britain? No. Wherever they went they found the German, the Swede, the Dane, the Italian, the Austrian, the Tyrolese, the Swiss,—all of them pouring into British territories, and coming under British rule; turning Protestants, and gaining the rights of British citizenship. One of the most wonderful things going on in this world at the present moment, was that transimilation as it were of European populations into British citizens. Anyone who had studied that must

feel that it was a deeply interesting question. No other nation held the position we did, except one, and that was the great American nation, which was united to us by ties which could never be broken. He thought they must all feel grateful to Mr. Chesson for the ability of the essay he had read that evening, and that the subject of it was only one link in a greater chain of subjects yet to be considered.

Bishop PERRY said he certainly felt great interest in the subject of the paper, and entirely sympathised with the feeling expressed by the meeting of satisfaction that the present Government had seen its way to annex Fiji to the British Empire. He quite concurred in the opinion which had been expressed, that it was only thus that the miseries occasioned by the labour traffic could be terminated, and by which those beautiful islands (for he believed they were most rich and fertile) could become valuable possessions of the British Empire; and that it was the only way in which it could be preserved from the pernicious influences of some of the worst of our own people. There could be no doubt that among those who had held offices under the king in the Fiji Islands, were men who were the refuse of our Australian colonies. He perfectly agreed with the opinion that was expressed, that any country ruled over by English subjects, but not subject to the laws of England, not under the authority of the Queen of England, must be the scene of oppression, and cruelty, and lawlessness. Upon all these grounds he could only express his entire concurrence in all that had been said with reference to the annexation of Fiji, and as to what in all probability would have been the condition of those islands if the annexation had not taken place.

The Right Hon. Sir JAMES FERGUSON said he should not have intruded any remarks, agreeing as he did almost unreservedly with the expressions contained in the paper, and also generally with the Bishop of Melbourne, but he thought the bishop had used some expressions which he would be disposed to qualify with regard to the late *de facto* Government of Fiji. Because those who had followed the courses of recent negotiations, he thought, must see that those expressions of censure did not apply to Mr. Thurston, the present Colonial Secretary. He filled the office of acting Consul at Fiji, and he (Sir James) was possessed of information, derived from the best sources, while he was Governor of New Zealand, to the effect that Mr. Thurston was actuated by high considerations, and to a great extent mitigated evil and promoted good. In fact, he should hope that his services, rendered to the British crown in his new position, would be such as to conduce to the benefit of the people

and to his own credit. In no way differing in the main from what had been already said, he would express an earnest hope that the steps recently taken by Her Majesty's Government, with, he took leave to say, singular prudence, deliberation, and wisdom, might result most happily for the wider population, which the hon. member for Dundee had said was likely, at no distant date, to be widely extended. It might be said that the fruit which had now been plucked was more than ripe. In fact, from a disinclination to assume fresh responsibilities, we had run the risk of allowing a valuable possession to fall into other hands, and this led to sins which could never be atoned for; but which might have been prevented had advantage been earlier taken of the great opportunity afforded to us. He was sure he spoke the sentiments of all the Australian Colonies, when he said it was thought a burning shame that men of our name and race should be guilty of such atrocities as had in those regions defiled the British name, and for want of a British administration in the central Pacific, such wrongs remained unpunished. It had been remarked with justice, that what had been done by way of annexation, was the only mode of putting an end to the atrocities of the labour traffic. Some, perhaps, were not aware why a British possession was so necessary for that purpose in the Pacific. When persons were suspected of kidnapping, it was needful, in order to bring them to justice, that they should be taken to the Colonial Court of Sydney. But what chance was there of a conviction when native evidence alone could convict, and native evidence would not be taken in the court at Sydney? There were men walking about the streets, known to have been concerned in robbery and murder, and no law seemed capable of reaching them. What was the remedy for this? Why, that there should be a British court placed there competent to deal with all offences against British law, and with the means of getting the evidence which alone could convict. He confidently hoped that the courts, assembled under the government of Sir Arthur Gordon, would meet out justice with so unsparing and righteous a hand, that those who disgraced our nation and wronged humanity would not longer go unpunished. In the person of the present Government of Fiji, he believed Her Majesty's Government had appointed a gentleman who, from his experience and position, was thoroughly competent to inaugurate the new government with every hope of success. Her Majesty's Government had shown the importance which they attached to the position, not only by the deliberation and prudence with which they had undertaken it, but by appointing in the first instance a first-class governor of the

greatest experience. He had heard with pleasure the remarks of the hon. member for Dundee, and having for the last two years been connected with Mr. Vigril on public business, he heard those remarks with much pleasure. The Government referred to was ambitious to raise the Colony in which he held so honourable a place, so as to contribute to the honour of Her Majesty's Government. Whilst some had thought that his aspirations, with regard to the Pacific, somewhat wild, those who had read the able paper in which he propounded his ideas would see that he only looked forward to such an extension of the British dominions by the peaceful operation of commerce and the legitimate influence of civilisation. He said that civilisation must gradually flow through our influence in those islands, because he felt confident that the British nation would not abandon the noble mission in which for many centuries it had been engaged; and he could not doubt that those who had planted the British nation, and sustained the British honour, at such far corners of the world, were destined to surround themselves with an increasing population, and to spread civilisation over the millions of human beings who peopled those seas. It was by no violent nation that these objects were to be accomplished. But he believed that by following with our laws and British authority those of our nation who settle in distant places, we can restrain them from evil, and turn to good those great means which Providence had placed at our disposal.

The Hon. A. KINNAIRD rose to acknowledge the obligation they were under to Mr. Chesson for the information communicated by him, and desired to thank him for his paper. He agreed with him that they should not omit publicly to recognise how much they were indebted to the great Wesleyan body. It was many years ago that the Rev. William Arthur attempted to draw attention to the importance of annexing the Fiji Islands, and he (the speaker) went round to different Government departments and found total ignorance everywhere with regard to them, till he went to Lord Palmerston, who at once showed his knowledge of their position, and told the exact depth of the water in the harbours there. He was glad to say that there were still many missionaries now at work there, and the London Missionary Society were extending their operations generally in the South Seas, and had even advanced as far as New Guinea. He himself believed that sooner or later that noble island, or rather continent, would be annexed to the British Empire. They should take the blame to themselves, as a nation, for having so long left the Fiji Islands to pursue an evil which he hoped would be put a stop to by their annexation. It

was only by public attention being fixed upon these remote islands, that one could hope to induce the Government to take steps to prevent those evils which grew up when traders were left without proper supervision.

Mr. KIMBER desired to be informed the exact latitude of Fiji. And upon the question of the tenure of land, asked whether among the natives there was the art of writing, apart of course from the education that had been received in the mission schools; because, under the new jurisdiction, the dealing with questions of allocation and adjustment of titles and rights, would depend very much upon how far the natives had been able to record their transactions, not only *inter se*, but with Europeans. He would also like to be informed as to the number of islands.

Mr. CHESSON said there were about two hundred, and one hundred inhabited.

Mr. KIMBER said, whilst he rejoiced to know that the late annexation had not been made for our own aggrandisement, but for the good of that portion of the human race dwelling there, they must not forget there were considerations *per contra* not to be overlooked. He should be very happy to feel that he could agree in every word with which the hon. member for Dundee concluded. He said we were united to the next great nation on earth by ties which could never be broken. That was a hope which all fervently hoped would be realised, but whether it was more than a hope may be doubtful. At all events, whilst hoping for the best, they must be prepared for an adverse contingency, of which this life was full. The contingency of war had been suggested as one of the reasons for acquiring these islands, and very wisely so. But whilst it would be of immense advantage to us to have another base of operations in the South Pacific, they must not forget how, supposing a war were to ensue, that might be a tempting opportunity for a possible opponent to attack us. Whilst the larger islands might be a very good strategic base, there might be a weakness in the distance of the islands which surrounded them. Upon this subject he would inquire what was the size of the island on which probably the seat of Government would be placed, and its distance from the smaller islands, and whether they were easily capable of defence without costliness, or would be a source of weakness in being capable of being seized and turned to account by an enemy.

Mr. R. H. PRANCE said: If Mr. Kimber had been across the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, he would have found that Englishmen were well received, and more

especially upon the Pacific coast. He did not believe there was an individual in the city of San Francisco who, if Mr. Kimber had known him, would have caused him to make the remarks he did. He believed the feelings of the Americans, especially on the Pacific side, were entirely in unison with those of the English people. He did not believe that Americans as a rule would wish that we should not annex Fiji. The Fijians were Christians, and we as Christians should receive them with open arms. An hon. member had spoken of Papua (New Guinea). He hoped that ere long the various colonies of Australia would unite to form a dominion of Australasia; that Fiji would be not one of the least among the stars of her diadem, and that, as in the case of Newfoundland in the dominion of Canada, a place would be reserved for the island of New Guinea to form a part of the Dominion of Australia, comprising the colonies of Australia, New Zealand, &c.

Sir ARTHUR GORDON, referring to his recent appointment, said he should like to add his tribute of thanks to the author of the paper which had been read. It would not be expected by anyone present that he should lay down any particular course of policy, or say what was going to be done in the Fiji islands, or what was not to be done there, because it would be utterly out of place. The views which had induced Her Majesty's Government to accept the offer of cession made by the chiefs of Fiji were well known. Those views it would be his duty to attempt to carry into execution, in the same spirit as the cession was accepted. The task before him was not an easy one. It abounded in discouragements, but was not without its encouragements too. Amongst those encouragements, certainly the hearty sympathy of those in England interested in the work, was not amongst the least. Nevertheless, he might say at once, that notwithstanding the encouragements, notwithstanding his hope and belief that much might be done in those islands, he went without the slightest expectation or the slightest hope that he would give general satisfaction by any course of policy. He was, however, quite certain that if one pursued a proper, just, and impartial course, it was possible to be respected, and attain that which, after all, was the highest reward for all service, success, in the establishment of what was just and right. Therefore it was not with the hope of popularity, it was not with the hope of success, in the ordinary sense of the term, that he accepted the post. He had accepted it, and thanked the gentlemen present for their sympathy.

Mr. HALIBURTON had listened with much pleasure to Mr. Cheson's very able paper, and also to the very interesting remarks

which had followed. He felt a peculiar interest in the question, not only as an Englishman, but also as a colonist. Looking back to the period when his ancestors were first connected with the Colonial empire, he felt that the history of the past might well inspire them with hope as regarded the future of the Pacific. Little more than two hundred years ago, the pilgrim fathers went out to Massachusetts Bay, and the connection of his ancestors with the colonies dated back to that period. It was well worth their while to see what the English race could, and was destined to do. At the time he referred to, the English occupied only a small patch on the sea-coast. France owned all to the north and west as far as Ohio, and Louisiana to the south; and Spain owned Florida, Mexico, and California. At that time we were but a small cloud upon the horizon. Since that period the English had gone on steadily annexing the territories around, until they owned nearly the whole of the North American continent. They had bought out where they could not drive out; and he was convinced that whether the British Government chose to sanction the annexation of the Pacific islands or not, there was a spirit in the British Colonists which made them a colonising people, and we can no more prevent Englishmen from annexing that country than we can stop the stream from flowing down hill. But, fortunately, we had a Government able to guide the progressive spirit and the generous impulses of our colonists. It was with much pleasure he had read the recent utterances of the present ministry, which so strongly contrasted with those of men recently in power. At the time he left Canada, three years ago, all his fellow Colonists believed that the dismemberment of the Empire was impending; but he was glad to know that the idea of dismemberment was dead. As to the islands about to be annexed, he might say that the people were not only interesting to us as Christians, but because the inhabitants were the connecting link between the lowest type of savages and the semi-civilised nations of antiquity. They would find the Fijians a peculiarly interesting people, for, as he had pointed out some thirteen years ago, their religion was an intermediate development between the religions of India and of the rude Australians. Before long it would be found, when men of science went there, that a large amount of attention would be directed to the people whom it was our ambition now to Christianise and govern.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec.) said he merely rose to tender an apology in the name of the gentleman who had been alluded to by the hon. member for Dundee and by Sir James Fergusson—Mr. Vogel. He (the speaker) had the pleasure of a long interview with

him the day before yesterday, and wished to express to the meeting Mr. Vogel's extreme regret at not being able to be present that evening through ill-health. He could assure the meeting that he (Mr. Young) was deeply impressed with the views expressed by Mr. Vogel upon the subject they had discussed, and he could assure those assembled that, but for the inevitable impediment of ill-health, Mr. Vogel would have been present at this meeting.

Mr. MICHE said that he thought he might congratulate the meeting, and the public in general, on the selection that had been made for the government of the Fijis. As had been well remarked in the course of the debate, it was all-important that a man experienced in the ways and management of men, should be appointed to such a position. For, much as he felt disposed to defer to the opinion, and to respect the experience of Mr. March, he entirely differed from that gentleman in his estimate of the qualifications required in a governor of this new colony; for Mr. March seemed to think that almost any able-bodied man might satisfactorily discharge the duties of such an office. So far from sharing this opinion, he believed that the difficulties of the situation would be much greater than those imposed on the governor of a colony enjoying parliamentary institutions, inasmuch as a governor of such a colony as Fiji would necessarily be under much larger personal responsibility, than one who presided over a government worked by responsible ministers. It was quite evident that Sir Arthur very distinctly appreciated this himself; and the sagacious diffidence which induced him to avow that he did not expect to give entire satisfaction to any party in the community for which he was bound, was, he thought, a happy augury, as showing that Sir Arthur formed an accurate estimate of his vice-regal liabilities. He remembered an old colonist, eminent on both sides of the world, saying "that it took a long time to get up a good quarrel with a new governor,"—a speech which showed that there were constitutions in the world which rather enjoyed the operation; and from gentlemen of this turn of mind, as well as from some of those to whom the Bishop of Melbourne had just referred, not to speak of possible unpleasantness springing from among the late king's friends and subjects, abundance of material would possibly be afforded for the exercise of Sir Arthur's judgment and discretion. The situation seemed to be, in some points, almost unprecedented. The ex-king, Thackombau, had been introduced to them that evening, it was true, as a gentleman and a Christian; but who had also, it appeared, when dunned for some claim, expressed his readiness and willingness to eat his creditor—a form of meeting royal liabilities, which,

although proposed by a gentleman and a Christian, could hardly be generally recognised by the new governor. Notwithstanding, therefore, the orthodox correctness and dignity of Royal Gazettes, signed "Cackabou Rex," this Christian king would appear to have tastes and habits which, although intelligible enough to his own people, might require for their control tact and management from the new ruler. Upon the whole, he could hardly congratulate, still less envy, the possessor of the new appointment; but, inasmuch as it was certainly one which might afford excellent opportunities of the governor distinguishing himself, the task immediately before Sir Arthur might perhaps be regarded as an introduction to something more agreeable in the future.

The CHAIRMAN said, before he asked them to ratify by their vote the high encomium, so well deserved, which had been passed by individual speakers on Mr. Chesson's most interesting and able paper, he would offer a few remarks. In the first place, he would express the very great gratification with which he heard Mr. Jenkins refer to what he regarded as the patriotic sentiments uttered by himself. And whilst he wished to repudiate being called a Tory (for that did not accurately express his ideas), yet, as a Conservative, he felt a little jealous of the hon. member for Dundee claiming patriotic ideas only for the party to which he happened to belong. With regard to the extension of the empire in the Pacific, he hoped the step they had taken would be only one of a long series. Already last year, in the House of Lords, when Lord Carnarvon announced the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Fiji Islands, he had said (he thought in answer to Lord Kimberley, who said that they might do something so egregious as to attempt to colonise New Guinea) he thought very probably that might be the next step. His attention had been called to it by the reports recently received, and no doubt, in a short time, they might be able to begin operations in that direction. At all events, it was inevitable that having begun their connection with the borders of the Pacific Archipelago, there was now no limit to their empire; for, as other speakers had said, it was necessary that they should exercise control where people of our race would inevitably trespass. As had been well said, the sooner they exercised control over them the better; and it was better to forestall them than to follow with unequal steps. The year before last he went to California, and could certify to the friendship he received everywhere, and he desired to express his admiration for his fellow-countrymen in Canada, and for the country which they occupied. He felt constrained to acknowledge the friendliness and hospitality

of the inhabitants of the United States, and especially of the Californians in the neighbourhood of San Francisco. He congratulated Mr. Chesson upon the ability and interest of his paper. He had been delighted with the interesting speeches that had been made; not the least interesting amongst them being the noble speech of the newly-appointed governor of the Fiji Islands.

A vote of thanks having been passed,

Mr. CHESSEON said he thanked the meeting most sincerely for their vote of thanks, and His Grace for his courtesy. He desired to point out that the annexation of Fiji did not necessarily involve the suppression of the slave trade in the Pacific. But, in order to the more effectual suppression of the iniquities of the labour traffic, it was necessary that there should be at an early period an extension of consular jurisdiction in the Pacific; and that the consuls appointed in those islands should be the only persons authorised to allow the emigration of labourers from these islands to Fiji, or to any other part where labour was required. He understood Mr. Kimber to ask, in what degrees of latitude and longitude Fiji was; and his answer was, that it was situate between the meridian 176° east and 178° west longitude, and the parallels 15° and 28° south latitude. It was about 2,060 miles from Melbourne, 1,730 miles from Sydney, and 1,880 miles from Auckland. He had already stated that Fiji was now a mail station for steamers; and the great advantage of Fiji as a naval station was the excellence of the harbour of Levuka, in the island of Ovalau, which was not more than eight miles in length, by seven in breadth, and was therefore one of the smaller of the Fiji islands. Levuka had hitherto been the seat of government; and he presumed it was intended that it should so continue. The harbour was an extremely good and secure one; and, without reference to any question of peace or war, hoping as they all did that there never would be occasion for the use of a navy in that part of the Pacific for any hostile purpose; yet, inasmuch as Great Britain must be represented there by ships of war, it seemed to him of the last consequence that those ships of war should have a safe harbour, in which they could refit and enjoy absolute security. This they possessed at Levuka. Then as to the literature of the Fijians. He believed there was no written literature amongst them. There were a great many traditions and a great many proverbs, which, he thought, might compare favourably with the proverbs of even civilised nations. But, on the other hand, the Wesleyan missionaries had, by their persistent labours, succeeded in instructing the children of the rising generation, in imparting to them a knowledge not only of their own language, not only of the

Bible in Fijian, but also of the English language. He apprehended that in the course of a few years, with the consolidation of British interests in Fiji, and the impulse which he was sure the distinguished governor, who had spoken that evening with so much true patriotism, and his colleagues, would give to the cause of civilisation in Fiji, they might hope to see in those islands a population that would be able, probably, to read Shakespeare and understand him.

FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE fifth meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on Tuesday evening, the 16th March, 1875, His Grace the President in the chair. At the Council dinner, which preceded the meeting, the Duke of MANCHESTER proposed the health of Sir GEORGE F. BOWEN, G.C.M.G., Governor of Victoria, one of the guests on the occasion, who replied as follows:—

My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,—I thank his Grace—to whom this Society owes so much—for the very kind terms in which he has just proposed my health; and I thank all present for the enthusiastic manner in which they have responded to the toast. I desire to express my deep sense of the hearty welcome given to me by so distinguished a body as the President and Council of the Royal Colonial Institute on my temporary return to England after a continuous absence of sixteen years in Australia in the public service. I assure you, however, gentlemen, that I am not so foolish as to ascribe to any personal merits of my own the very flattering reception which you have accorded to me. Rather is that reception a mark of your respect for, and sympathy with, those three great, flourishing, and loyal provinces of the Empire, Queensland, New Zealand, and Victoria, over which successively I have had the honour to preside as the representative of the Queen.

The Colonial Institute has sprung into existence—indeed, it has risen into vigorous life—since I was last in London. It provides for a want which had long been felt—I mean, for a neutral ground on which can meet the Colonists and the friends of the Colonists of all parties and opinions; in other words, on which can meet Britons living in the United Kingdom and Britons living in the Colonies; for I need scarcely say that there is no difference of race or of feeling between us, in whatever province of the Empire we may dwell. Indeed, as you all here well know, the most prominent characteristic of British Colonists is their intense nationality—their pride in being sons and heirs of the British Empire, bound to each other and to the mother-country by the strong ties of national brotherhood, and of common allegiance to the Crown, the symbol of the unity of the Empire. Some of you, my Lord Duke and gentlemen, may perhaps have read lately in

one of the New York journals a letter from a recent American traveller in Australia. He wrote to the effect that "Australia would be the most glorious country in the world, if the people there—men and women alike—were not such *blasted Britishers*." Now, I need not tell the present company that there is nothing of which the Australians, like the Canadians, like the New Zealanders, and like all other Colonists, are so proud, as of being, in the phrase of our American visitor, "*blasted Britishers*."

Gentlemen, I have no desire to detain you from the more immediate business of the meeting of this evening, but, before I sit down, I would ask permission to say a few words respecting a point on which I had some conversation during dinner with the noble Duke in the chair. I would venture to congratulate you on the tact and discretion with which this Society has avoided entangling itself in any way with the local politics of any of the Colonies. Englishmen abroad, like Englishmen at home, are reasonably jealous of any interference in their local affairs except on the part of their own representatives in Parliament, or other legally-constituted authorities. Once more, therefore, I congratulate the Colonial Institute on having so successfully maintained the neutral and impartial position which properly belongs to it.

In conclusion, my Lord Duke and gentlemen, I again thank you for the honour which you have conferred upon me.

On taking the chair at the meeting, his Grace the Duke of Manchester called upon the Hon. Sec., Frederick Young, Esq., to read the minutes of the last ordinary meeting, which were duly confirmed.

GREAT BRITAIN AND NEW GUINEA.

By ARCHIBALD MICHIE, Q.C., Agent-General of Victoria.

To the statesmen, the merchant, and the Colonist, and even to the geographer and the naturalist, I cannot but think that the present position and future possibilities of New Guinea ought to prove peculiarly interesting. Stretching away as it does athwart that vast Indian Archipelago, almost from the equator on the north to the 10th degree of latitude on the south, and extending nearly from the 130th to beyond the 148th degree of east longitude, we find it to be the next but one in magnitude to the island continent, which already contains so many thriving English communities. There is something perplexing in the thought that this very remarkable island, lying as it does at the very door of Australia, should not at the present time be as well known to us as the interior of Africa. And yet I think we may very reasonably pre-

sume that if it were judiciously brought under the rule of Great Britain, it would prove at no very remote period to be as important to the interests of millions of the mother-country, as to the hundreds of thousands of souls who are now, as rapidly as surely, laying the foundations of a second British Empire in the great south land.

It is with this conviction that I venture, at the suggestion of some of my friends of the Royal Colonial Institute, to lay before them my views on this not less interesting than important subject; and if at the outset anyone may be mentally demanding, why now, more than at any former period, we are called upon to turn our special attention to New Guinea? I reply, that it is only within the last few years that New Guinea has been brought as close to our Colonists as she now is. Cast your eyes over the latest map of Australasia, and what do you behold? The vast and until very recently the mysterious interior of this island continent, so long supposed to be an arid and unimprovable desert, unfit for human occupation, is now spanned by the electric telegraph, and is settled by a continuous and scarcely interrupted succession of sheep and cattle stations. The farmer, the sugar grower, the cotton planter, the gold digger, the storekeeper, even the doctor, the clergyman, and the lawyer, are now found in an established and well-organised civilisation within a few miles of the scarcely explored shores of New Guinea. These settlers are told, as the fact is, that the geological formation of the one country is identical in character with that of the southern portion of the other. In effect therefore the two islands, by reason of their near neighbourhood and their evidently possessing so many natural resources in common, are one territory; and Nature herself seems to have suggested that the power which already holds sovereignty over the one should also have some dominion over the other.

At this point, however, I think I hear an objector striking in with, "Ah! we have heard this sort of thing before; and although it would have done very well in 'the dark ages,' when such foolish phrases as 'ships, colonies, and commerce,' captivated the obtuse intellects of our benighted forefathers; we now live in an age of better lights, and are of opinion that these once so much lauded 'gems of the British Crown,' as they are called, are costly and delusive incumbrances, already numerous enough, without our adding New Guinea to the list." Speeches like this, notwithstanding the recent Fijian heresy in the opposite direction, we shall have inevitably to deal with in discussing this question, and therefore, before proceeding further, I may as well, with your permission, try and get this preliminary objection out of my way at once.

Paradoxical as it may sound, I venture to say at the outset, and trust to make the position good as I proceed, that we may grant much for which Mr. Goldwin Smith—for whom, in passing, I desire to express the sincerest respect—and his school contend, and yet consistently affirm that it would materially conduce to the best interests both of the mother-country and of the Australian Colonies to incorporate, if we could, New Guinea with the British Empire. The object of the separationists, as we know, is to get rid of the political connection, and so relieve the parent country, as they consider, of the anxiety, the trouble, and expense of managing a large number of unprofitable, yet frequently fractious, exacting, and impracticable children. That this object could be effected by a stroke of the pen cannot be doubted; and that Great Britain might save, or appear to save, a round sum by the process—not that the Australian Colonies cost her anything—may be at once conceded. She would, however, on the other hand, as a necessary consequence of the operation, as it appears to me, put her Colonies in such a position towards her in the future, that in the event of a war, she would have no more or further right than any ordinary foreign power to refit her armaments in Colonial ports, thenceforth neutral at least for their own security under the changed relations. All this seems plain enough.

But, further, there is one great and dominating fact, which neither Parliament nor any other earthly power can ever abolish or control, and that is the absolute dependence of millions of England's lives on England's commerce with her Colonies in every part of the world. That commerce, as you well know, is at least as essential to the support of many thousands of English households, as if it were a commerce carried on between any two ports on our own coast. There is not a day in the year in which there is not millions of pounds' worth of British property, in the shape of British shipping, lying in the various harbours of our remotest dependencies. In these ships are carried many other millions' worth of British manufacture—the products of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and all the great centres of industry throughout this country. If all this commerce is to continue, and to grow in the future as in the past, is isolation possible to the England of our day? Can England, however averse from the cost of defending her Colonies, escape, even if she would, from the necessity of defending her own property in the harbours of these Colonies? When Lord Granville a few years ago, in repelling an imputation brought against the Government to which he belonged, came out with that fine after-dinner burst—delivered I am sure in perfect

sincerity—to the effect that, if it became necessary, England's last ship and last shilling should be spent in defence of her colonies, was the speech really as extravagant and after-dinnerish as it sounded? Did it after all amount to much more than this, that if it became necessary England's last ship and last shilling should be expended in defence of herself, whether that self were found in Hobson's Bay or in Sydney, in Adelaide or in Brisbane, or in a score or so of other ports in which this remarkably distributed, yet connected, self of hers is constantly to be found? The tax-payers of England, we are told, ought not to be burdened with the defence of Colonies which can so well afford to defend themselves; a proposition which, assuming it to be assented to on the part of the colonists, must surely entitle them to a reciprocal concession from the tax-payers of England, viz. that the tax-payers of a colony ought not to be burdened with the care and cost of protecting the property of British merchants, shipowners, and manufacturers, because they happen to find it more profitable to send their property to Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, or Brisbane, rather than to keep it at home. This is a very interesting point in the Colonial relations with the mother-country, a point which some day may demand to be practically dealt with. A few years ago, Admiral Popoff, one of the most experienced and trusted officers of the Russian navy, whilst with his ship in Hobson's Bay, made himself quite at home by surveying and taking careful soundings of our extensive harbour in every direction. Many of us were rather puzzled by this delicate attention. Was it to be set down to abstract devotion, to hydrographic science, or might it mean business? We had not many years before been at war with Russia, and might be at war again, either with her or with other powers. In such an event your gold and wool ships might be seized in our port, or arrested by hostile cruisers on putting to sea. We have been so long familiar with the reports in the *Times*, of how half a million of gold on such a day, or a million on such another day, was proceeding from stage to stage—its travels being recorded with all the circumstantiality of a royal progress—until it reaches its honourable, though temporary, destination in the vaults of the Bank of England, that it requires quite an effort of the mind to imagine Admiral Popoff laying hold of it on the way. Such events as this, however, being possible, it is only natural to inquire who would have to bear, or who ought to bear, the loss, or should either mother country or colony alone bear the loss? Here we find ourselves *inter apices juris*, plunged into a question of disputed obligation. The British merchant might say, "Whilst

your harbour has got our property, your harbour, if the property is seized, ought to be at the cost of defending it or accounting for it." The colonist, on the other hand, might say, "What have we, or what has our harbour to fear, but for your property? It is the fact of your property being in our harbour at a time when you have some quarrel in hand, with which we have nothing whatever to do, which alone exposes either our harbour or your goods to the rapacity of an enemy; and therefore you, the mother country, are, or ought to be, mainly responsible for both." The delicately complicated equities arising out of the situation remind me somewhat of the little suit which once arose between the owner of a Newfoundland dog and a fishmonger. Whilst the Newfoundland dog was unguardedly wagging his fine tail over a box of live lobsters outside a fishmonger's shop, one of the uneasy crustacea closed its large claw on the tail of the dog, and the latter in very natural fright at the altogether new sensation, bolted down the street, carrying his tenacious and painful appendage along with him. The fishmonger, who, for the purpose of the illustration, shall be called the British merchant, aroused by this novel and extraordinary evanishment of his property, roared out to the owner of the dog, "Hallo, I say, you sir, call back your dog, will you; he's running away with my lobster at his tail." "Oh, nonsense," replied the dog's master, "you call back your lobster." Whether the British merchant or the fishmonger may be considered effectually or satisfactorily answered by so embarrassing a counter-requisition, a court of equity must determine, which court of equity for this evening you are.

Decide, however, as you may, for lobster or dog, or for neither or both, I think you will find that the familiar illustration I have employed scarcely exaggerates the complication of interests which insensibly, in the course of years, has arisen between the mother country and her Colonies. A fair review, and the very necessities of the situation, then, entitle us to say, upon the mere statement of the case, that British commerce must be protected by British force, wherever that commerce may be found; and if this be so, I cannot very clearly see how, with any substantial result in the way of saving money, Great Britain should declare for what must after all prove to her but an unprofitable political separation, so far as her self-supporting colonies are concerned; and therefore it is that I have said we may grant much that the Separationists contend for, without prejudicing our present contention in the direction of New Guinea. And if Britain's commerce must be protected by herself, it follows, as a necessary corollary, that it is for her best

and permanent interest that all reasonable and effectual means should be employed for securing that protection. And here I may ask, can such means be at all adequate in time of war, whilst one side of Torres Straits is under the control of some powerful enemy? Whether England be at peace or war, indeed, it is all-important that we should have the command of these straits. Our enormous trade with China, Japan, India, Singapore, and Australasia—large as it is, yet only in its infancy—demands, as an indispensable condition of its further successful prosecution, carefully surveyed coasts and straits and harbours, seas well protected from pirates, and friendly neighbours on every side. How might it fare with our merchants, in a time of war, were New Guinea and her fine harbours in the possession of some great European power hostile to this country? How could North Australia brook, within seventy or eighty miles of her own coast, an enemy alike to herself and the parent country? And should this be derided as an imaginary danger, it must be borne in mind that it may at any moment be turned into a real danger. The waste places of the earth are as open to other nations as to us. Whilst New Guinea is wholly unoccupied by ourselves, it may, without offence to England, be at any time appropriated by some other power, which, in the ever-changing course of the world's fortunes, might, either in time of peace or war, very disastrously, in those regions, disturb both Imperial and Australian interests.

And now, turning aside for a moment to these Australian interests more particularly, allow me to call your attention to another possibility which might, even in a time of peace, accrue from our continued disregard of New Guinea. Suppose—unpleasant as the supposition may be to the minds of our fellow-countrymen in Australia—that a penal settlement were established in the island. We know that were such an enterprise attempted by the British Government, all Australia, from Melbourne in the south to Palmerston in the extreme north, would be aflame with indignation and resistance. And yet such a contingency may at any moment come upon the Australian colonists at the hands of a foreign power, which would be under no obligation whatsoever to heed our remonstrances, and indeed, could not in reason be expected to consult our interests or convenience in preference to their own. Not to speak of any other consideration, is this a risk to which our Australian Colonies should any longer be exposed? You all remember the resolute, and ultimately successful, opposition which the Colonists made many years back to the attempted resumption of transportation, even to Western Australia; yet what

would transportation to that Colony be compared with transportation to New Guinea? The Western Australian Port of King George's Sound is many hundreds of miles, whether by sea or land, from North Australia; but, as we have seen, the distance of the nearest point of North Australia to New Guinea does not exceed eighty miles. Transportation to New Guinea, therefore, would in effect be transportation to Queensland, which, I need hardly say, would prove a calamity both to her and to her neighbours, compared with which an ordinary invasion—as being merely a transitory affair—would be a mild visitation. Do not scout these suggestions as imaginary terrors. We are reminded by events every day, "that the unforeseen always happens." France has her convenient penal settlement in New Caledonia. Nobody expected that till it came. Why may not some other great power desire to establish such a form of outdoor relief in New Guinea? We may rely on it that a regard for the interests or feelings of our Colonists would be no hindrance, and in these happy and amiable times of Geneva arbitrations, even strong representations of the parent country, if made at all, would probably prove equally efficacious.

In all such matters as the passing on of national nuisances from our own doors to those of our neighbours, we do *not* love our neighbours as ourselves. Selfishness becomes, under such circumstances, a sort of privileged sentiment all round. I sadly proved this years ago, when once quietly discussing this question of transportation with the late Charles Kean, in Melbourne. He was as sensible and fair-minded a man in most matters as you would desire to meet with; and therefore I was for a moment a little surprised to find him vigorously denouncing our late unreasonable, not to say treasonable, conduct in having not only meditated, but even set about preparing to reship from Melbourne a cargo of England's convicts of the strongest flavour, to be landed at some convenient point in Cornwall or Devon, as an acknowledgment in kind of the repeated favours of the same nature which had been vouchsafed to Australians from the prisons and hulks of England. Mr. Kean had of course satisfactorily absorbed all that certain portions of the English press had served up to him respecting our absurd and unreasonable prejudices in favour of our own throats, and he favoured me with a reproduction of all the stock English arguments for my conversion. I succeeded, however, at last in extracting from him a sort of reluctant half-admission, that the feeling which induced us to resist the importation of English convicts was, at least, as respectable and disinterested as the motives of the exporters; and so, finally abandoning his original position, he said, with a heavy sigh,

"Well, perhaps your right ; but I'm sure I don't care *where* they go, so long as *we* get rid of them." This blunt and honestly selfish little speech, delivered with the air of a man making a rather handsome and liberal concession, in fact contained the whole essence and marrow of whatever had come from pro-transportation writers or speakers in the mother country. And this feeling is neither dead nor rare, nor confined to England. It may be displayed at any time to our cost by a foreign power, and therefore I humbly submit that Great Britain, whether she retains her Colonies or not, is morally bound—inextricably identified with Australian fortunes as she is—to contribute whatever prevision or prompt action the situation may demand, for the purpose of saving the Colonies from a possible calamity, which, should it come to pass, would, by diminishing the attractiveness of the Colonies as fields for respectable emigration, ultimately recoil on herself.

But, as I cannot expect such a principally local consideration as this to be a very potent one for my purpose with any Government, Liberal or Conservative, let me go to other arguments which may have greater weight, as savouring more of what are sometimes called "breeches-pocket arguments." I have already, as I venture to hope, shown the important bearing which our possession of New Guinea may have on the *safety* of our commerce in those eastern seas ; let me now call your attention to the effect which the possession of some portion of this fine island would have in *extending* the commerce of this country.

Supposing the island to be settled by our countrymen, as are Queensland and Port Darwin on the opposite shore, you have at once a large, new, and as it would certainly prove, a rapidly growing market for British manufactures and merchandise of every kind. Only those who have witnessed, as some of us have, the rapidity with which new settlements spring up and prosper under favourable conditions, can have any adequate conception of the nature of the operation. I made a visit to Graham's Town, in the Auckland district of New Zealand, about three years after the discovery of the Thames River diggings, and the consequent establishment of the township itself. Only three years before my arrival at this place the spot was mere bush, untrodden by the foot of the white man ; and yet within this short period had sprung into existence many hundreds of respectably built houses, numerous, commodious, and well-managed hotels, churches, chapels, and court houses. Omnibuses and cabs were running for moderate fares along properly laid-out and well-made streets, thronged by streams of well-behaved wayfarers of every class, who would

favourably compare with any urban population whatsoever in this country. Upon the hill-sides behind the town, and in every suburb, were scores of steam-engines and every kind of machinery both for quartz-crushing and agriculture—more especially for the preparation of New Zealand flax for the English market—all of which machinery had of course come from England; and I think I should have forgotten that I was merely in a New Zealand township of only three years' standing, had I not met—pacing along the footpath of the principal street—a young Maori lady, very handsomely attired in a rich silk dress, and with a coquettish-looking little Parisian bonnet on her head, the effect of which, however, was, to my prejudiced eye, somewhat marred by the fact that she had in her mouth a short black pipe, at which, with the judicious interval of an experienced smoker, she took good long pulls, with very evident appreciation of the soothing effects of the weed. Now be it observed that the growth of this settlement had taken place amongst large numbers of this lady's countrymen, all of whom took kindly to the new state of things, and some of whom were deriving very handsome ground-rents from the Colonists occupying the land of these natives. "The celebrated" chief Tipari—for thus he was called in those parts—was, as one of these ground landlords, in receipt of a large income; had built himself a handsome house in the English style, and had recently gone into heavy expenses for the purpose of entertaining the Duke of Edinburgh whilst his Royal Highness was in Auckland, in the course of his tour a few years ago. Greatly disappointed was poor Tipari that the son of Queen Victoria could not, amidst his many other engagements, avail himself of the great chief's hospitality. The only consolation left to Tipari was with renewed energy to collect his ground-rents, which, from all reports that reached me, he levied with most civilized punctuality.

Now, I would ask here, what reason have we to doubt that just as Graham's Town, and its continuation Shortland, and other such places came into existence, waxed strong, and prospered, so a similar career would attend a plantation of our people in New Guinea? The resources of the island are great; the climate, although tropical, healthy; the people tractable, and fond of barter. And moreover, quite irrespective of the recent valuable discoveries by Captain Moresby, to which I shall presently make more particular reference, it cannot be doubted that there are in New Guinea extensive deposits of gold identical in character with those which are already being so profitably worked in Northern Queensland. If we turn to the able and elaborate report by Mr. Richard Daintree

(the present Agent-General of the Colony), furnished by him to the Minister of Public Works of Queensland, on the 2nd of February, 1870, and printed among the Parliamentary papers of that Colony, we shall see curious promise of what has been so recently verified by Captain Moresby. At the time of Mr. Daintree's survey, of which the report I refer to was the record, he held the office of Government Geologist of Northern Queensland. After showing as he does how his prognostications that gold would be found to extend from the heads of the Gilbert river, by way of Kirchner's range, towards the Endeavour river, had been already fulfilled, he points out, from citations of passages from the narrative of the voyage of the *Rattlesnake*, how the rock formation of the three largest northern diggings of Queensland, viz. the Peak Downs, the Cape, and a portion of the Gilbert, is largely represented at the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, with an authenticated trend or strike which, if continuous, would give such rocks a large development in the interior, and so afford a fair promise of gold fields in New Guinea. The continuity here referred to as merely hypothetical, has since, as we have seen, been brought to proof by Captain Moresby, in the year 1878, and therefore that there are extensive gold fields in New Guinea cannot now be doubted by any one examining the evidence.

Now, in thus referring to New Guinea as a probable future new customer to the manufacturing industry of Great Britain, I am aware that I am in for a collision at another point with the Separationists. Our commerce, we shall be told, in no wise depends on our political connection with our Colonies, although so many of our best customers are Colonial communities. "Whether that connection continue or not, or whether New Guinea shall be colonized by us or a foreign power, will make," we are told, "no difference to British commerce, inasmuch as the Colonies, British or foreign, will only come to England for their goods as long as, and no longer than, England is the best, *i.e.* the cheapest, market to buy in." And politico-economically speaking, this, as a general proposition, may be true enough. But for the purpose of dealing with this truth practically, it is not immaterial to ask "whether other considerations besides cheapness, do not occasionally influence the minds and movements of men of business." The mere cost of production of an article is not always, and under all circumstances, the only consideration merchants have to regard. All other things being equal, or nearly equal, there is always—as I conceive—a manifest and substantial advantage in merchants dealing with their own countrymen rather than with foreigners. There is a

saving of time, trouble, office expenses, and there is an avoidance of some risk in consigning your goods for sale and return to an agent of an English-speaking community, acting under the same mercantile system, and subject to the same laws and jurisdictions as yourself; and this consideration alone, independent of any other, supplies a strong motive for "commerce following the flag," as the phrase goes—an expression which in the main I take to be as true in fact as it is figurative in form. When I look into our trade returns, I find how vastly more extensive are our dealings with our own Colonies, as compared with those we have with Batavia, Cuba, Algeria, New Caledonia, Java, or with any of the other foreign possessions.

Whether attributable to national feeling or to any other cause, it is not necessary to inquire, but experience must convince us that just as we prefer to deal with our own countrymen, there is an indisposition more or less strong—only to be overcome by sufficiently potent counter-considerations—in foreigners to deal with us. We all know how long it took us to educate the Chinese,—an education in which we certainly did not spoil the child by sparing the rod,—we all know how long it took us to make these Celestials properly appreciate the merits of those "grey shirtings" of ours, that highly respectable British export, which so regularly in the *Times* enjoys a prominent telegram all to itself. Bearing this in mind, I think it is certain that New Guinea could never be the same profitable customer to us under a foreign power as she would prove under our own. Establish relations with New Guinea, and English mercantile agencies would spring up there at once, as readily, and probably as numerous, as in Queensland. Leave the work to foreigners, and English merchants will not be much more numerous in New Guinea than in New Caledonia. In one word, the foreigner will have gained the new customer, and England will have lost him. Nor, as Manchester is not England, will the loss be only that of merchants, manufacturers, ship-owners, and British artisans. Every great English Colony largely relieves the crowded ranks of the professions in the mother-country. How many young Templars—I do not mean "Good Templars,"—how many doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, journalists, artists of various kinds, and even clergymen, have found a fair field for their faculties in a new country, the natural home of the self-reliant among these as among men of more mechanical pursuits.

And now, whilst contemplating the making a settlement in a new country, as it will not do to reckon without our hosts—viz. the dwellers already in that country—let me invite your attention

to Captain Moresby's recent description of them, as furnished by his accounts already published. Describing the natives of the island and coast of New Guinea, in Torres Strait—I pass over those few vegetating Dutchmen to the westward of the 141st degree of east longitude, and who make no pretensions to territory beyond that point—from Bristow Islands to Talbot Islands, he informs us that the men average in height about five feet six inches, and that they live on the produce of their gardens, which are well kept, and contain yams and potatoes. From 146° 20 to 148° east longitude, the subject of the second section of the survey extending from Yule Island for 120 miles to Hood Point, Captain Moresby reports upon as follows: Finding a large quantity of drift wood off Yule Island, he hoped to discover a large river leading to the interior. The island, however, was found to be at the entrance of a well-sheltered sheet of water, which he named "Robert Hall Sound." The island is about 550 feet high, and is well cultivated and fertile. After giving a not very attractive account of the main-land in this part, as being a succession of low ranges, culminating in the magnificent "Owen Stanley Mountains," 12,000 or 14,000 feet high, he tells us that the natives of this part are a copper-coloured race, of different shades; that they are decently clothed; that here and there ill-made native huts were on the banks, and cultivation patches of higher ground, carefully cleared and planted with yams, taro, and bananas. The men frizzle their hair like mops; the women wear theirs close cut. The women tattoo their bodies extensively, but the men do not. They paint themselves with black, white, and red pigments, and wear plumes of feathers as ornaments. Their weapons are bows, arrows, spears, stone and wooden clubs. No signs of cannibalism were seen here, and the people are described as "friendly and intelligent."

To the east of Redscar Bay, Captain Moresby informs us, the Barrier reef rises to the surface at a distance of a few miles from the shore, and protects the coast as far as Hood's Point. From this reef the entire features of the country change. Whilst from Torres Strait to Redscar Head the land is low and swampy, eastward of this head the shore is precipitous, and round-topped grassy hills are seen, openly timbered and backed by higher ranges inland, while fertile valleys lie between. The coast here is strewn with villages, always marked by a grove of cocoa-nut trees. The houses are built on poles, after the Malay fashion, some standing far out on the shore reefs in quiet water, others clustering amongst plantations on the hill-sides. The *Basilisk* passed through the Barrier reef by one of these narrow bottomless openings, which,

Captain Moresby states, are peculiar to those seas, and anchored in a fine roomy harbour, now named "Port Moresby" and "Fairfax harbour." The ship remained here several days, while running surveys were made, and the coasts explored. In the neighbourhood of Port Moresby the valleys are covered with rich vegetation, and the hills are Australian in appearance. The natives are very inoffensive. Captain Moresby frequently examined their canoes which were trading up and down the coast, and calling at distant villages, but never found any weapons. The officers of the *Basilisk* roamed over the country, and visited their villages as freely as if they were English people. If any of the English sailors got lost in the bush, the natives took them to their villages, and offered them every hospitality before bringing them back to the ship—politeness to strangers which could not be exceeded in our own Lancashire.

After describing and correcting the previously published geography of that part of the coast which was the third section of the survey, commencing at Heath Point, Captain Moresby gives us the important information that the route in future for steam-ships between Australia and China will be shortened by some 300 miles, by rounding Moresby Island, which fact, together with his having ascertained that there is a strait—named by him China Strait—hitherto supposed to be a continuation of the land, raises his labours above the level of mere surveying into the dignity of maritime discovery—an important consideration which surely should be appreciated and acknowledged accordingly. He examined the northern shores of New Guinea for many miles in his boat, and found that beyond East Cape it was washed by a clear reefless sea, and that a ship might sail with her sides touching the coral wall which binds the shore, and find good anchorage in any of the bays where beach is seen. He speaks warmly of the beauty and fertility of this part of New Guinea.

The precipitous wooded mountains are, to a considerable extent, cleared and terraced to their very summits with taro and yam plantations, whilst the valleys produce cocoa-nuts, sago, palm, bananas, sugar-cane, guava, mammy apple, pumpkins, and other valuable products. The natives were of a lighter copper colour than those to the westward, slight-limbed and active, with bright intelligent features. . . . The men do all the canoe work, leaving the field labour to the women. But the latter have their say, and make the men do as they please in the matters of barter.

"On one occasion," he says, "a husband was heartily belaboured by his wife with a paddle on the head and shoulders,

because he did not barter satisfactorily ; and his friends, instead of interfering for his relief, only shouted with merriment." He did not retaliate, but looked foolish. This lady's application of the paddle, upon commercial grounds, upon the person of the gentleman who can hardly with accuracy be called her lord and master, seems to be the nearest approach the natives have as yet made to a " Board of Trade."

The men were frequently seen nursing little children with much affection. One striking evidence of the superior civilisation of the light-coloured race over the black New Guinea men, is the acquaintance of the former with the art of making pottery. The intercourse of the *Basilisk* with these people was of a most satisfactory and pleasant nature. On all possible occasions Captain Moresby gave his ship's company leave to go on shore, and mix freely with the natives ; and there was always perfect good feeling and confidence on both sides. " They are as pleasant and genial a race of savages as could well be met with."

Thus far Captain Moresby. Since the delivery of the above account of the island and people, our zealous and indefatigable honorary secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, has been favoured with some curiously corroborative evidence of its correctness, from the pen of Mr. E. H. Minton, who some years ago spent several months in different parts of New Guinea. His testimony, both as to the character of the country and its people, is important. He speaks of a " magnificent harbour " in latitude 9°30 south, and longitude 147°10 east, as affording safe anchorage, and not unlike Sydney harbour—the ground behind it rising gradually to a great height above the sea, and affording an excellent site for a city. The country, as far as he penetrated the interior—a distance of about thirty or forty miles—he describes as picturesque and undulating, and the climate, to use his own words, as " magnificent." He saw plenty of tomatoes, yams, toro, pineapples, breadfruit, cocoanut, and wild pigs and fowls. The natives he reports as friendly, and that he had a large trade with them. The women he found often very good-looking ; some of them of a Jewish cast, and singularly handsome. He naively adds, that he was sorry to leave the island.

One other witness I will call before commenting on the evidence. The statement made by Captain Evans, the hydrographer to the Admiralty, at the Geographical Society, on the evening of Captain Moresby's later deliverance, was as graphic as it was instructive. Referring to an opening observation of Sir Henry Rawlinson's, Captain Evans said, " He did not think our present knowledge of New Guinea was sufficient to warrant the expression used by Sir

Henry, 'that as an unknown land, it was fast fading from our grasp;' for literally nothing was yet known about its interior. He himself was engaged some thirty years ago, for two or three seasons, in Torres Straits. At that time the Gulf of Papua was not laid down upon the charts. The coast he visited was for one hundred miles evidently the delta of some great river, with many fresh-water openings, from two to five miles wide. The fresh water was observable twelve miles from the land. On several occasions the boats attempted to penetrate some little distance up these channels; but the natives were so numerous and hostile that it was impossible to get past them. One of the native houses was measured, and found to be three hundred feet long, and seventy feet wide. Such houses were very numerous, and the population must therefore have been very great, and the country very fertile to feed such a number. They were entirely different in character and appearance from those whom Captain Moresby had described. They were the true Papuans: black, fierce in appearance, still fiercer in manners, and all efforts to get near them were perfectly useless. The large body of fresh water which he saw must be the drainage of a great part of New Guinea; and there was room enough in the interior for a river three hundred and fifty miles in length in a straight line to the north-west. It must drain all that immense mass of mountains, 16,000 feet high, on the north-west; and the only way to learn anything about the country would be to ascend that great water highway. It was of no use merely touching the shores; because the forest prevented any exploration more than a few miles inland. This was a case in which the Colonies of Australia might well unite in a common effort to send a small expedition to ascertain what New Guinea really is like. It would never be known from Russian and Italian travellers, although these had done wonders. A couple of well-armed steamboats could very readily venture into the interior, and really ascertain something about the country." Now here is valuable evidence, accompanied by still more valuable suggestions, from a witness who brings to the question, not only actual observation and experience, but also that official position which entitles him to speak as one having authority, and not merely as one of the scribes. I have only to add to what he has said, that he has left out—I think it must be accidental—the mother-country as entitled, equally with the Colonies, to contribute to the cost of that most desirable expedition.

From these various versions, then, derived from separate sources, independent of each other, the first thing that strikes us is the at

first apparent discrepancy between Captain Moresby's and Captain Evans's account of the natives. But the inconsistency disappears when we are told, as is the case, that there are two races of men—possibly more—on this island, and that Captain Evans saw the true Papuans, the frizzle-haired (*papuas* in the Malay dialect meaning frizzle-haired), while Captain Moresby saw the race with whom alone we should be likely to come in contact.

Taking Captain Moresby's account, then, in connection with that of the experiences of Mr. Minton, I think we can hardly refuse to subscribe to Captain Moresby's description of these natives, as being indeed a very genial race of savages, even if we are quite justified in applying to them that not altogether pleasant-sounding term. Their politeness and hospitality to strangers, and the kindly little touch of nature shown in the nursing of the children by the men, very favourably distinguish them from the aborigines of New Holland or Tasmania. Then mark that significant bit of evidence, "the women have their say, and make the men do as they please in matters of barter." We all know how much is implied by the expression, "a woman having her say,"—a New Guinea woman, too, who can not only paddle her own canoe, but who, at the call of commerce, can paddle her own husband. Here have we the most essential part of the rights of women in full play, derived from the light of nature alone, and amongst a people who could never have heard of John Stuart Mill. And if you should be inclined to think that the "doing a little cannibalism" is something of a drawback to this pleasant picture, we must still remember that this—as Captain Moresby tells us—is only "among themselves," showing that they are too considerate to obtrude their tastes either on the minds or bodies of their visitors.

I have extracted from the published account of Captain Moresby's exploration the above particulars respecting the natives of New Guinea, in order that we might have before us some distinct idea of the sort of people with whom we should have to deal, in proceeding to plant a permanent settlement upon the island. That these natives would present any obstacle to such settlement, I think other undertakings of a like nature forbid us to fear. Judging from our experience in Ceylon—an island in many of its features not unlike New Guinea—we may reasonably infer that a native population, in its tastes, temper, and habits, prepared, as were the population of Ceylon, and as are the people described by Captain Moresby, to appreciate and welcome the introduction of a higher civilisation, would prove a help instead of a hindrance to European settlement. Anyone who has travelled, as I have recently done,

by coach from Galle to Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, must have been struck by the fact that at intervals of about every two or three miles he came upon a populous and apparently comfortable and prosperous native village, displaying in its little shops any quantity of British manufactures, which I think we should hardly have met with, had this beautiful and productive island remained under that paralysing Dutch rule from which, in the year 1796, it was rescued by our own country.

I do not then think that, so far as moral or social hindrances go, we should meet with any serious difficulty in effecting a settlement in New Guinea; and as to physical obstacles, they would appear to be even less than those which, so late as the year 1835, stood in the way of our settlement of Port Phillip, now the Colony of Victoria. Down to the time of the expedition, overland, of Hume and Hovell, in the year 1824, the district of Port Phillip itself was actually as much a *terra incognita* to our countrymen as New Guinea now is. A second expedition by Major Mitchell, and his subsequently published account of it, made us for the first time acquainted with the great capabilities of the country; and at once some of the most enterprising of the settlers of New South Wales began to move stock to the new land. We know the result. And just as Port Phillip, from its accessibility to New South Wales, received its first impulse thence, may New Guinea be stocked, and settled even, in a much shorter time from the opposite shore of Northern Australia. And I am inclined also to think that in like manner as the affairs of Port Phillip at the outset, and for many years afterwards, were very cheaply administered by a Superintendent under the Government of New South Wales, so might such portion of New Guinea as may be selected for our settlement be advantageously provided for, and even self-supported, in the same manner.

As it is now time, however, that I should draw rein, so as to allow some reasonable portion of the evening for the usual general discussion, I hasten in conclusion shortly to address myself to one or two objections which may possibly be made here, as they were recently submitted at the Geographical Society, by our friend Sir Charles Nicholson. Requested by the President of the night, Sir Henry Rawlinson, to offer some observations on New Guinea, in its political aspect in relation to this country, Sir Charles deprecated the idea of our settling down upon any part of the country already occupied by a native population, who moreover had not invited us to take such a proceeding. Casting a melancholy glance on those fine specimens of auriferous quartz which were, amongst

many other objects of interest, brought by Captain Moresby from New Guinea, and were lying on the table, Sir Charles expressed his deep regret, and augured the worst prospects for the poor natives from this discovery and its announcement. He evidently anticipated that evil times were in store for the Papuans, destined to be favoured with such forms of civilisation as a rush of truly British diggers were likely to bring with them into this beautiful and, as it appeared to be at present, tolerably happy island.

Such apprehensions, I admit, are natural to any thoughtful and conscientious mind, and therefore doubtless we can all sympathise with Sir Charles's misgivings. But, at the same time, I fail to see, even if they were better founded than I take them to be, how we could, even if we desired to do so, give any practical effect to them. More reasonably might we contend that Blue Beard's unfortunate wives ought to have conquered their woman's nature sufficiently to restrain them from looking into that forbidden chamber, than to expect, after Captain Moresby's announcement of the discovery of gold reefs in New Guinea, to keep our countrymen out of that island. We all know what "a gold rush" is. As well attempt to stay an Australian mountain torrent in mid-winter, as a stream of excited human creatures, strong, healthy, and sanguine, on their way to a new gold-field. English imaginations, familiar only with more conventional forms of life, are apt to exaggerate the apparent anarchy of such a scene, and forget the great qualifying circumstance that the majority of adventurers are bent upon hard work, of a nature which will not consist with much dissipation. But even were the thing a greater evil than it is, if it be unavoidable, it seems to me that all that is left to us is to deal with it as we deal with other evil—manage, and keep it in hand, as well as we can; we do not stand listlessly by and let it take any course chance may give to it. When it comes to a case of "fighting with our broken weapons, rather than our bare arms," there is no time for sentiment. Captain Moresby's discovery of gold in the island gives an aspect of urgency to the political situation; and imposes, I think, on the Government the necessity of taking timely precautions against our being confronted with another Fijian difficulty, but of larger proportions, and possibly in a still more embarrassing form. Even a small element of lawlessness can, when uncontrolled by authority, work much evil in any community, although the great bulk of that community may be anxious—as in every Australian gold-field I have known, and there are few of them with which I am not more or less acquainted—to

preserve the law and order essential to the protection of their industry and homes.

Then as to the objection that there are already people in New Guinea, I conceive that it can derive no support either from precedent or reason. That a country is in some sort inhabited, has never, that I am aware of, from the earliest colonisers down to the present time, been regarded as a bar to a more civilised nation taking lodgings there, if there was room. From the Phœnicians down to the Fijis, this has always been so, and a moment's reflection will satisfy us that it must always be so. Impelled by that great law of nature, from which there is no appeal, *omnes eodem cogimur*, as old populations become redundant, they must throw off their swarms into less peopled regions. Lastly, the argument that we ought not to go to New Guinea until we are invited, to my mind has as little claim on our consideration as the one just disposed of. It savours too much of the ill-timed and superfluous fastidiousness of that Oxonian, an excellent swimmer, who, when once implored by a lady to save a man who was drowning before their eyes, expressed the great gratification it would give him to comply with the request, but for the unfortunate fact that he had not been introduced to the gentleman. I suspect that by far the best introduction we could take with us to New Guinea would be a judicious assortment of those grey shirtings, and plenty of good Birmingham "dry goods"—I think that's the correct expression. And, if "'tis to be done, then 'twere well done if done quickly," for the case presses. As Sir Henry Rawlinson said a few nights back, "Russians, Germans, and Italians are all now nibbling at New Guinea." Captain Moresby has well paved the way for ourselves, and can suggest for a first station an unexceptional spot, to which from obvious reasons I do not think it expedient here to make more particular reference. And whether this work shall come to pass or not, I trust that the old colonising spirit of this once pre-eminently colonising country is not dying out amongst us; for I am weak enough to think that Colonies have made no mean contribution to that proud eminence which Great Britain holds among the nations. And although it is true that, by a marvellous concurrence of causes—with which, by the by, statemanship has had little to do—this country has become almost the workshop of the world, and has acquired a comærcce which has distanced all competition, it is equally true that the rest of the world is not standing still. It may perhaps be as well for those who scoff at our Colonial customers to bear in mind that coal and iron, and human skill and enterprise, are not confined to England; that over confidence has before now

been found as disastrous for nations as for individuals; and there is reason in the rhyme with which I will bid you good-night:—

“For by the Politician’s scheme,
Whoe’er arrives at power supreme,
Those arts by which at first they gain it,
They still must practise to maintain it.”

DISCUSSION.

CAPTAIN MORESBY said he had listened with a great deal of interest to Mr. Michie’s most able paper, and felt that the subject had been so exhausted by it, that anything he might say would be almost like going over trodden ground. Divesting himself for the time of his position as a naval officer, he stood there as one of the company of Englishmen who first visited and made known to the world the outline of the eastern portion of the island of New Guinea, never before visited by a white man, and, as such, might be able to arouse some passing interest in the subject. In the first place, he thanked Mr. Michie very warmly for the kind compliments he had paid him, but would say that when a naval officer put on Her Majesty’s coat, he stood devoted entirely to his Queen and country, and whether he laboured successfully or died nobly, he only did what it was his duty to do. The thanks of the Colonies were, however, largely to be given to the Imperial Government, for it was the Imperial Government who, after hearing of his first discoveries, at the east end of the island, sent the *Basilisk* back under his command to follow up and substantiate these discoveries, and also despatched a very distinguished surveyor, Lieutenant Dawson, without whose aid the splendid charts and maps which many present had seen could not have been made. This showed that the Admiralty and Imperial Government took a warm interest in Colonial matters. Thanks also were due to Divine Providence for giving unusually fine weather, favourable winds, and health and strength to the officers and men, which enabled them to open up that new and rich country; and he trusted the intercourse which must follow would result in good, not only to the English race of Colonists, but also to the aborigines themselves. The map on the wall was a perfectly defined chart of New Guinea; but anyone who had seen it before the visit of the *Basilisk*, instead of seeing the capes, headlands, and bays indicated thereon from the eastern extremity to Cape Cretin, would have seen nothing but a wavering dotted line, showing that it was an unknown coast. The island had now been explored by Englishmen, and his motive for exploring it was partly, though not altogether, the fact that

before leaving Sydney he had received information that the French, and the Americans from San Francisco, as well as the Russians, who he knew were in Astrolabe Gulf, were fitting out expeditions to explore New Guinea and the adjacent islands; and he thought it was more an Englishman's right, if such could be done, to add the last discovery possible to the habitable world, and to put the names of English statesmen and English admirals on the map. New Guinea presented in its general features a high mountainous country, culminating in very sharp ridges, 12,000 and 14,000 feet high, sloping down towards the sea. There was every variety of level plains, terraced plateaus, rich open land, wooded country, and glens of extreme fertility. It would be perceived that in such a country one could enjoy every possible degree of temperature. The produce of the country, as had been described by the lecturer, was all that was to be desired. He had been reading that day an account of the island of Java, which might very well stand for a description of the eastern portion of New Guinea; and while reading he reflected that we now consider our forefathers to have made a great mistake in giving up Java, and hoped that our children will not have to blame us for letting another Java slip through our fingers. The produce of the island consisted of sago, arrowroot, Indian corn, sugar-cane, and wild nutmegs. Bananas and various tropical fruits were grown by a rude method of cultivation. Imagine for one moment the eastern extremity of the island in the hands of European cultivators: you would have first the rich slopes of the mountains covered with cotton, rice, coffee, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and spices of all kinds; and above that the English garden producing all our home vegetables. You would see the apple-tree bending down to the vine below, and the vine descending to the crops on the stem of a palm. This is no fanciful picture, but a simple statement of what might exist in New Guinea. If one wanted cooler air it would be only necessary to ascend a few miles, and the glow of summer could be changed for the frost of winter. The forests contained many kinds of valuable woods, but of their nature he was scarcely qualified to speak. The best known products of the island (he was speaking in presence of commercial men, and therefore open to correction) consisted of jute in large quantities, and fibres of various kinds. Its shores abounded with pearl shells and tortoise-shell; and these natural riches were already attracting commerce from Australia. The gold alluded to was found in Port Moresby, on the south-east of New Guinea, a part never before visited; but no gold had been found on the north side. On Ferguson's Island (one of the

D'Entrecasteaux group) where they had discovered a number of boiling springs, they had found minute chippings of rubies and sapphires, and he had little doubt but that larger stones would be found there. With regard to the annexation of New Guinea, it seemed to him that, placed as the island is, as the crown of Australia, it must soon be occupied. Experience had shown them that if it was occupied by any other Power difficulties must arise. Even such minute things as Fishery questions often led to serious difficulties, and it would be better to avoid them. Another question which pressed was with regard to the natives employed in the pearl fisheries. The pearl fisheries of New Guinea must develop themselves in time; and as the divers and real fishers would be the natives, he thought they ought at once to accept the whole moral responsibility of them, for their future was in their hands; and if they neglected them the time might come when England would regret good opportunities lost, and evil perpetrated on the natives under the shadow of an alien flag close to Australian shores. No doubt there were many present who knew more about the strategic position of New Guinea than himself; but the fact is indisputable that Australia's strength and peace depend largely on her position being entirely isolated and "free from the friction of any contending interests." If an alien power was allowed to establish itself in New Guinea this isolation would be at an end, and we might expect complications and difficulties. In his opinion the points to be occupied were those which commanded a new route to China; and he asked those who knew better than himself what the aspirations of other nations are, and what the value of commerce between Australia and China was likely to prove, to imagine how easily an enemy, with two or three ships issuing from a secure port on the New Guinea coast, could completely cripple and destroy a valuable commerce. He thought the two islands of Australia and New Guinea were intended by nature and circumstances to be inhabited by one race for the peace and security of both, and he had constantly at his heart a desire that the natives who had given him such a hospitable welcome should fall into the hands of honest and true Englishmen, who would raise them to a higher and happier state.

SIR GEORGE BOWEN: My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,—I am sure that we have all listened with extreme pleasure to the able and eloquent remarks of my hon. friend, Mr. Michie, on a most important and interesting subject. Certainly, the interior of New Guinea, with its native tribes of various races, with its lofty snow-clad mountains, with its rich tropical valleys, with its dark,

mysterious forests, with its strange animals, with its gorgeous birds, is one of the very few parts of the globe which still hold out the prospect of novel discoveries in Ethnology and Natural History. Elsewhere, the modern explorer must now, like Alexander of old, sigh for new worlds to conquer. In the words of Juvenal—

“Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clausus scopulis, parvæque Seripho.”

I have not myself the advantage of having actually set foot on New Guinea, although I was almost in sight of its coast when I proceeded, while Governor of Queensland, in 1862, with the late Commodore Burnett, to Cape York, the north-eastern point of the Australian Continent, and founded there the settlement created by the joint co-operation of the Imperial and of the Colonial Governments. That settlement has proved of great practical utility in many ways; not least, perhaps, because the frequent visits paid to it by our men-of-war have led to valuable additions to our knowledge of the neighbouring seas and countries. It was thus in particular that my gallant friend, Captain Moresby—who I am glad to see here to-night—was enabled and encouraged to make his recent most important researches and discoveries, of which his able pen has given such graphic descriptions. Again, it has of course been my duty, as an Australian Governor, to study carefully the political questions connected with New Guinea, to some of which Mr. Michie has referred. My official position prevents me from enlarging so fully as I could wish on this part of the subject. My hon. friend and other gentlemen here are evidently firm believers in what our American cousins call the “Manifest Destiny” of the Anglo-Saxon race to annex all neighbouring communities. I confess that, personally, I agree with the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Derby, who said, in a recent speech, that while he was strongly in favour of the extension and consolidation of the Empire in all countries enjoying temperate climates, and in which Englishmen can settle and propagate their race, he was inclined to think that, as a general rule, subject to exceptions in special cases, “England has already *black* subjects enough.” The recent annexation of Fiji is one of the exceptions to which Lord Derby referred. All who have studied that question are agreed that this annexation was not only politic, but practically unavoidable. New Guinea may, perhaps, ultimately prove another exception. It may be so; but it is to be hoped that, with our present imperfect knowledge of this vast country, no attempt may be made to hasten, *unduly*, the proverbially slow and cautious steps of that ‘Manifest Destiny’ of which we have spoken. It is obvious that

the discovery in New Guinea of rich gold-fields, and many other possible contingencies, would suddenly and completely alter all the conditions of the problem. And, gentlemen, we may rest assured that the Governments and Parliaments of the Australian Colonies will not fail, when the proper time for further action shall have arrived, to call the attention of the Imperial authorities to this subject. Meanwhile, I think we may safely await the further development of the designs of Destiny, or, as we should more reverently say, of Providence.

In conclusion, my Lord Duke and gentlemen, I thank you sincerely for the indulgence with which you have listened to these slight and imperfect remarks, and for the hearty welcome accorded to me by the Colonial Institute.

Rev. Dr. MULLENS was afraid he was placed in a little difficulty, as one of the small minority to which Sir George Bowen had alluded. He did not agree to any great extent with the views advocated by Mr. Michie. He thought that in advocating so boldly, and not altogether with sufficient dignity, his important proposal for the annexation of New Guinea, Mr. Michie had not dealt seriously enough with the rights of the native races who already occupied the land. As Englishmen, they were bound to look at that side of the question; he was therefore pleased to hear the remarks made on the subject by Captain Moresby, whom they all honoured so highly, when he urged frankly and boldly that we should care thoroughly for the natives whom he discovered, and from whom he had received such hearty hospitality. He seconded every word which Captain Moresby had spoken on the point; and he felt proud, as an Englishman and Christian missionary, of the manner in which he, the officers, and gallant tars on board the *Basilisk*, treated the natives, and how they did everything to cultivate a kindly and friendly intercourse between them. He had no objection to the growth of English influence in the world when it carried with it, as in India and Ceylon, security for native rights, wise government, good laws, as well as good opportunities for developing English trade. Native interests could be thoroughly cared for in this way. Every right that a native of India or Ceylon possessed in his person, in his home, and in his land, was preserved by a wise, just Government, and by equal and just laws. Having lived for twenty years in India, and having had the honour and pleasure of knowing many members of the Indian Government, he was proud to see the justice of that Government, and the spirit in which it was carried on. Looking at the eastern arm of New Guinea, with its wonderful mountains and valleys, and the splendid varieties of

its vegetation, it seemed more to be a parallel to Java than like a country in which they were to expect an English colonisation. He thought Mr. Michie had quite overlooked the difference between lands near to the Equator, and lands, and Colonies, far towards the southern pole. Sir George Bowen had laid his finger upon this difference in a moment. The climate of New Zealand was one in which Englishmen could live far better than in their own country. But those who had lived any time in the Island of Ceylon, even in the province of Kandy, knew the way in which the climate affected Englishmen, whether on the highlands or lowlands. There was an immense difference between the two positions. He did not think that in the higher grounds of New Guinea there was any prospect of being able to place a large number of English Colonists, owing to the powerful sun. In an important Committee of the House of Commons in 1858, on the colonisation of India, that question was brought before it, and information was given as to whether it was possible for Englishmen to live on the higher land; and the decision was adverse to such a proposal. They might in a friendly way secure settlements in New Guinea by dealing uprightly and honourably with the people, he did not doubt, and thought that the exchange of commerce would be a great benefit to the people of New Guinea as well as to ourselves. He was one of those who were now engaged in furthering the progress of the people of New Guinea, by establishing along the coast, both on the eastern arm and in the Gulf of Papua, a series of missionary stations, with a desire to bring among them the high teaching of the Gospel. Their missionaries were the first to land in Papua, and the land was afterwards surveyed by Captain Moresby, in order that two mission stations might be opened on what was called the Katau River. There was no doubt a broad swampy delta all about there, and an immense supply of water. Several rivers seemed to come into the Gulf, no doubt all uniting in one grand stream. There they found a hard and unusually savage race of people; but he scarcely liked to apply the name of savages to the gentle and amiable people on the east end of New Guinea, who had received Captain Moresby with so much kindness. The Papuans on the Gulf—tall, strong men, black-faced, and energetic—were a very difficult people to deal with; and he should have no objection to Mr. Michie trying his hand among them.

Mr. LABILLIERE said he had given the question a large amount of consideration, and had always taken great interest in it. They were much indebted to Mr. Westgarth, who prominently brought the subject before the public in a paper read at the Social Science

Congress at Plymouth two years ago, and from that time the question had grown with a greater rapidity than had at first been anticipated. Some months since, New Guinea was the subject of a considerable amount of conversation and discussion among gentlemen interested in the Australian Colonies, and in questions affecting the relations of the Colonies to the mother-country. Nearly two years ago, a few gentlemen met in a private conference for the purpose of considering the subject, and he had the honour of conducting the correspondence in connection with that Conference, which took place at the rooms of the Colonial Institute. It was thought unadvisable, at that time, seeing how adverse the Government of the day was to undertake the annexation of Fiji, to make any public stir with regard to the question. He believed he was right in saying that everybody who attended that Conference was impressed with the high importance of the subject, although they were then unacquainted with the facts brought to light by Captain Moresby, which appeared shortly afterwards. Although he was very advanced upon the question, and thought they ought to take prompt action with regard to New Guinea, yet it was going too far ahead to discuss whether the interior of the island was suitable for European colonisation. The first thing was to go there and secure the coast line; to secure the important harbours of which they had heard so much, and that important route which Captain Moresby informed them would be the high road to China from Australia, shortening the distance by about 300 miles. Captain Moresby had also discovered one of the finest land-locked harbours in the world, immediately facing their Australian possessions. When they had placed themselves in the island, made good their claim to the possession of the whole coast line, and had gained some experience of the climate and inhabitants, it would be time to consider whether they should advance further inwards, or only occupy the coast for the purpose of preventing any other great Power from establishing itself there, and also for the most important purposes of securing to our people the command of the trade of this rich island, as well as of preventing kidnappers and adventurers, such as those who had infested the Fiji islands, from overrunning New Guinea. Considering the proximity of New Guinea to Australia, it did not matter whether that island was, as represented, one of the most fertile islands on the face of the globe or a desolate waste like Aden; the possession was of such importance to them that it was necessary for their security that they should occupy the coast line. What would be their position if another great Power were to come down and occupy such a terri-

tory? Questions would at once arise as to rights of fishery, and, instead of having undisturbed possession of Torres Straits, through which every year a rapidly increasing commerce would flow, they would have a neighbour on the opposite shore claiming joint possession with them: and were these straits and the new route to China in the hands of such a neighbour, what would be the position of England in time of war? She would have to increase her naval force to a much greater degree than she would otherwise have to do, and even in time of peace she would have to maintain a larger number of ships in those waters to watch over her commerce. It appeared to him, whether they liked it or not, that the possession of that important island was necessary to their security. It was not a question of ambition; it was not a question of planting the Imperial flag on every place to which they might be able to carry it; but it was a question of enjoying that which they already possessed; and that he considered was an overwhelming and unanswerable argument in favour of their taking immediate possession of the eastern portion of New Guinea. With regard to the natives, they were told they must act politely to them, and not go there until they had ascertained their feelings and wishes on the subject. If the Government were to be so very particular and punctilious on the point, they might depend upon it other Powers would not be so. Even if other Powers were disposed to be considerate to the natives, other persons, like the adventurers and people who had infested Fiji, would not treat them in like manner, and the result would be that the natives would, in consequence of their extreme politeness and consideration, be subjected to evils which would not arise if they took prompt action and possession of the territory. Whether they regarded it as a question of occupying a valuable territory, or a question of securing it against the incursions of undesirable neighbours, they should go to New Guinea. Some remarks had been made about the desirability or non-desirability of extending British colonisation into the interior of the island, but they could not say whether New Guinea was fit for colonisation until they went there and took up their position on the coast. It was said if they went there they would have to respect the rights of the natives to their land, and he thought the best way to protect those rights would be by some Government taking the country which would have power to make them respected. That was the only way to deal with the natives, and to protect the fine and generous people whom Captain Moresby had described from having their rights trampled upon by those who would not protect them. As to our Empire being too large already,

that argument was always brought up against any step of colonisation. They had all heard of the worthy Dame Partington, who with her mop endeavoured to keep back the rising tide of the Atlantic, and they had had within the last few years a certain number of worthy people who had been endeavouring to do a very similar thing. These Dame Partingtons had arrived at the very sapient conclusion that the British Empire was large enough, if not too large, already, and they set themselves to work to prevent the tide of British colonisation extending any further. The last that had been heard of them was that they had been swamped in Fiji, but he expected that those who had survived the severe drenching they had there experienced would turn up on the shores of New Guinea, and, mops in hand, try to stop the tide of British colonisation which was soon likely to set in in the direction of that island.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON said whatever Lord Derby might say at Liverpool, the tide of emigration would flow on into those islands. A short time since he was one of a deputation to Lord Kimberley on the subject of the annexation of Fiji, which was rather bewildering to some of those who disbelieved in the extension of the Empire. They were very well pleased with the attention which they found Lord Kimberley had evidently bestowed upon the whole subject; but his lordship met the deputation with the question, "We are talking of Fiji to-day; but what other islands will you talk about to-morrow?" They had sent into these seas some of the most energetic men in all the world, and they would pursue their course, whatever might be thought or said about it. He had been very much struck by seeing in one of the Colonial papers a statement that a party had started off from Ballarat to New Guinea. They had chartered a schooner, and a lot of Ballarat diggers were going off there. Very unfortunately, the poor fellows were shipwrecked, and perhaps came to an untimely end; but that sort of thing would go on in spite of any of them. The question was, whether what they had to do should be done under the orderly administration of the British flag, with some approach to recognised institutions, with a carefully-selected Governor, having some force at his disposal, and giving attention to the decent institutions of civilised life; or whether the thing should be done through the helter-skelter, filibustering kind of thing, which was often accompanied by a great deal of ruffianism and rowdiness, and with a disregard of law, which energetic people who had been accustomed to a somewhat primitive form of existence were very apt to resort to, and which were very sad when they came in con-

tact with such interesting people as they heard of. A Papuan wife might thrash her husband with a paddle; but he would not recommend her to try it on with a Ballarat digger. Out of imperfect forms of administration, with this kind of helter-skelter thing going on, gross scandals grew up, which were very mortifying to those who felt an interest in our fellow-Colonists. In that room, not long since, a paper had been read by one of the best friends of colonisation, and he was happy to say, by one of the best friends of the poor black man, who was very apt to go to the wall in helter-skelter colonisation. He was then on the Council of the Association, whose duty it was to review the papers before they were read to the Institute, and some of the expressions, by as well-intentioned and good a man as ever lived, with regard to the horrible slave traffic which had grown up in those seas, were so shocking, that he suggested they had better be softened down, because the men who had taken an active part in the opening up of those seas were not to be included in wholesale condemnations: they were softened down accordingly. They ought not to scandalise a whole community because of individual cases, although they might be far too many. Fiji had been a public scandal. Her Majesty's cruisers went there; they put things to rights, and did all they could; but the process of colonisation going on in that hap-hazard style was as dangerous as it was indecent and improper. It seemed to him they had only the alternative of selecting the right or the wrong way, and it was a great deal better, while there was time, that they should see whether it could not be done in a proper mode. Many of them knew what the discovery of a new gold field meant, and what was very apt to ensue when there was a "rush." They had seen something of "rushes" in old times, and a "rush" to New Guinea might lead to complications of which no man could foresee the end. Here was a strait of some eighty miles in width, dividing New Guinea from our own shores. He would ask them to look ahead a few years, and imagine what nation they would like to see established within eighty miles. 'Some nation would be there very soon. The magic word "gold" had been spoken, and that would urge on some form of settlement in New Guinea which they could not control. The only question was, whether this sort of thing was to go on under decent guidance, or whether it should be left to a dangerous and scandalous helter-skelter.

Mr. W. B. D'ALMEIDA, F.R.G.S., and author of a "Life in Java," observed, on rising, that as he was acquainted with Java, he would like to say a few words on the striking similarity of the New Guinea

and Java coast. He was sorry to hear that the south and west coasts of New Guinea were unhealthy: no doubt this arose from the swampy nature of the soil. In Java the same thing is seen along its north and north-eastern coasts; but by means of canals, the Dutch had succeeded in making their towns along the coast perfectly healthy, and he did not see why the same thing might not be carried out in New Guinea. Furthermore, it must be noticed that it was only along these shores that the soil was marshy, for when you get to about twelve miles from the coast of Java, the country opened out into fine undulations and pleasant valleys, and as you penetrate further inland you come across elevated plateaus and high mountains. He had travelled from the north to the south, and from the east to the west of Java, and when he reached the hilly country he found the climate very healthy, and the Dutch people thriving there. From what he had heard as to there being mountains in New Guinea from 10,000 to 12,000 feet high, and some of them snow-capped, he had no doubt that the climate there would be found to be healthy, and well suited for cultivation and occupation. According to Captain Moresby's paper, he found that from the east coast on to the north, the nature of the soil was rocky—at least hard—and the vegetation good. On the west coast of Java they found the same thing. There the soil was firm, the coast rocky, and the vegetation luxuriant. What could be the cause of this swampy or marshy soil on the north and north-east of Java and the south and south-west of New Guinea? Many conjectures might arise; but if he might venture on one, he would say it arose from the comparative stillness of the Banda and Java seas, as compared with the Indian and Pacific oceans. Those two seas were shut in like a basin,—the south and west of New Guinea covering them on one side, and on the other the island of Java and a long chain of islands. Besides that, there was quite an archipelago of islands in these seas, not to mention a large part of Borneo and the Celebes, which he fancied must act as barriers against, and prevent, the wind carrying those saline particles which would otherwise go to fertilise and render a swampy coast dry and salubrious. Where, for instance, the coasts were open to a broad sea and bracing wind, there a rocky and firm coast was found, and such was the case with the north and east coast of New Guinea facing the Pacific, and the west of Java facing the Indian ocean. He would say that until they had explored the interior of New Guinea, let them not abandon it. We abandoned Java upon the supposition that it was a place where alligators abounded, and the very spot for fever, dysentery, and the upas-tree. Without making a stricter inquiry into the climate or

the resources of the country, we handed it over in our ignorance to the Dutch, who were now reaping a yearly revenue of something like ten to twenty millions a year. Let us not follow in the same footsteps with regard to New Guinea. With regard to the races of New Guinea, from all he had heard he should be disposed to think there were three distinct races. First, according to the Dutch, and a recent visitor, the Rev. Mr. Gill, there was the Papuan race, who occupied the south of New Guinea. As a boy he saw one of these people at Singapore, where he was brought over (by an uncle of Mr. d'Almeida), he believed, from the island of Timor. This Papuan was as black as ebony, his skin always seemed well polished, his hair was woolly, and his teeth were pointed; he was broad-shouldered and deep-chested, and his feet were broad, or of that kind called splay-footed: this was the Papuan race. Then the second race was that spoken of by Lieutenant Connor, who lately visited the shores of New Guinea opposite the Torres Straits: they are said to be of a dark-brown colour, also with curly or woolly hair. And then they had a third race, seen by Captain Moresby along the south-east and north coast of New Guinea: they are a light-copper coloured people, who but for their woolly hair he (Mr. d'Almeida) would be inclined to say was a branch of the Malayan family; but it was difficult to say positively to what family they belonged until we had some information as to the language they spoke. He (Mr. d'Almeida) coincided with those who deem it very necessary that Government should take a decided step at once in occupying some portion of, or some island adjacent to, New Guinea, as a basis for further exploration, and with a view to the future colonisation of this important island.

The Hon. ARTHUR KINNAIRD, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Michie for his able and interesting paper, and confessed that whilst in the main he agreed with Mr. Wilson, yet that he concurred in some of the observations made by Dr. Mullens respecting the natives. He thought with him, also, that they should observe great caution in every step they took, and not attempt too much to hasten events, but rather wait for clearer Providential indications. Personally, however, he had no doubt that those who lived long enough would see New Guinea annexed to the British Empire. But they must not leave out of view the sensitiveness of political men about annexations, and were they to bring too great a pressure to bear on any Government, they might retard rather than advance matters. By planting the British flag on the coast and saluting it, Captain Moresby has already, in a certain sense, taken possession of the island as against new-comers.

The CHAIRMAN (the Duke of Manchester) said, before conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Michie, he would state what he considered was the result of the discussion. The chief objection to any step being taken with regard to New Guinea seemed to be that it would be very hard on the natives to take their land from them, which they seemed to be enjoying at present in great peace and prosperity, and that there was plenty of time to think about it. He contested both those arguments. In the first place he did not think that the English Government planting itself there, and taking upon itself the responsibility of such government as might be necessary for the maintenance of order on the coasts, would render it incumbent to interfere with the native rights as to the soil. On the contrary, he thought that by doing so they might probably assist the natives in maintaining their rights against those "ugly rushes" of which Mr. Wilson had spoken. As had been well said, gold had an immense attraction. Many things were done in the world for gold, which would not be done without that inducement. He might mention that in 1849 the place where San Francisco now was had upon it only one small cabin, not much better than a pig-stye. Now there was a large city with something like 300,000 inhabitants, wide streets, handsome buildings, tramways and omnibuses, and everywhere the greatest development and vast wealth. There was no copper coined, and no coin of less value than sixpence, and all this had happened in less than a quarter of a century, owing to the cry of "gold." The same cry of gold had gone forth with regard to New Guinea, and as he had ventured to say on the last occasion of their meeting there with regard to Fiji, he thought it would be better, wiser, and more dignified for the English Government to forestall, rather than lag behind, English emigrants. He considered it would be better for people who went to New Guinea in search of gold, or for other purposes, to find there a system of government powerful enough to deal with marauders and evil-doers, protect the natives, and deal justly and fairly with them. As patriots, too, it was incumbent on us to do so. It was their duty to their country that they should occupy that ground, rather than let it be occupied by any other power, whatever it might be. They all knew that they only saved New Zealand by a "fluke," for France had sent out an expedition to occupy that country; and they did not know that some expedition might not now be on its way to New Guinea on behalf of some other country. They had heard of the attention which the Russians and Americans were already paying to the country, and for the sake of keeping control over those maritime passes, for the

sake of the natives themselves, and for the sake of the future communities that might be formed in that country, he thought the sooner they exercised control and established government over it the better. He would conclude by asking the meeting to allow him to convey to Mr. Michie their best thanks for his most able paper.

MR. MICHIE, in replying, expressed his regret that in some of the remarks he had made he did not agree with Dr. Mullens, but that rev. gentleman evidently thought that he (Mr. Michie) would have treated the subject rather as a sermon than a lecture. He seemed to think that he (Mr. Michie) had disregarded the interests of the natives, but he begged in the most emphatic manner to repel that insinuation. Wherever British authority went, there justice also went, and it was because he thought justice was inseparable from English rule, that he did not raise a doubt as to the rights of the natives being preserved. With the numerous Colonies with which we had had to deal, anything in the shape of clear and proved injustice that had been brought under the notice of the Imperial or Colonial Governments had been most rigorously dealt with, and he was sure that if we decided to go to New Guinea justice would follow as a matter of course. But there seemed to be a great diversity of opinion as to the desirability of annexing the island at once. Sir Geo. Bowen said "Not yet;" Mr. Kinnaird said "Not yet;" Dr. Mullens said "Not yet;" but he, Mr. Michie, would like to know what it meant: did it mean this year, or next year, or next century? The noble Chairman pointedly alluded to the case of New Zealand, and expressed himself favourable to annexation forthwith. He (Mr. Michie) was sorry to see the amount of hesitation which existed on this subject. Sir Henry Rawlinson, at the last meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, said that numerous great Powers were nibbling at New Guinea, and he (Mr. Michie) would like to know what that "nibbling" meant. It undoubtedly meant a preliminary to a bite, and therefore, notwithstanding the many adverse opinions that had been expressed, he still believed annexation desirable, and did not subscribe to Dr. Mullens' and Mr. Kinnaird's "Not yet."

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, referred to the importance of maintaining the police of the seas, and this ought to have its influence with the British Government. He knew there were those who looked upon Colonies as evils *per se*, whilst others regarded them with reluctance when they dropped ripe into their mouths; and others, again, looked upon them as additions to the strength and importance of the mother

country. In the latter school he ranged himself. But it might be said that the British Government should be alarmed by the prospect of a fresh addition of black subjects, which some of our most eminent statesmen appeared to dread. But, unless some recognised sovereignty over Eastern New Guinea were assumed, how were they to maintain the police of the seas? It was well known that there were many persons engaged in the profitable pearl fisheries in the neighbourhood of the coast, and the excellent Commodore on the eastern station had found it necessary to issue regulations for the maintenance of order in the prosecution of that industry. The commanders of Her Majesty's ships were directed to interfere with Europeans employing natives in that fishery unless they were in possession of a license from himself. Therefore, what would be the consequence if a Frenchman or a German were found prosecuting that industry without a license from the Commodore? It was absolutely necessary, if the capital and industry of that coast were to be directed and regulated, that those regions should be placed under the protection of some European Power. The pearl fishery was so valuable that he believed steamers were being fitted out for it, and we were so far advanced that we were employing sailing vessels to look after them. It was a matter which ought to be well considered, how the necessary regulations were to be maintained, for he did not know what Prince Bismarck would say if a German skipper were taken into Sydney for being without a license. Whilst we were not anxious to assume responsibility, there was responsibility forced upon us, and the protection of these helpless races in the neighbourhood of our Australian Colonies seemed to be our duty before man and God.

SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, Waterloo-place, on Thursday evening, 15th April, 1875, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER in the chair.

Mr. P. B. GLANVILLE then proceeded to read the following paper, entitled—

SOUTH AFRICA.

South Africa is the Cinderella of the British-Colonial family. She is generally ignored, unappreciated, or scolded by her big and ugly relatives. Without strain the comparison may be continued. Cinderella in due time eclipsed her sisters by the brilliancy of her fortune. She it was who charmed and married the Prince. So also is it reserved for South Africa to become the most splendid of all Colonies. Those who hear these words are laughing in their sleeves at least; just as the jealous sisters laughed at the very notion of Cinderella's foot fitting the glass slipper. But however obscure Colonial South Africa may be at the moment, it is destined to grow until it becomes the dominant power in all Africa, facing Europe over the Mediterranean and Asia over the Red Sea. When that day comes several Princes will be anxious to marry her who is now but as a little kitchen wench among the cinders.

The reason for this belief is founded on the unconquerable vitality of the particular European elements in the settlements of South Africa, and especially upon the facts to which that vital force has already given birth. The little leaven will leaven the whole lump. This is no theory. The process is going on, and will go on. It would not be reasonable to be so confident were South Africa held, like an Indian presidency, by military force. It is possessed, occupied, settled, turned into a dwelling-place, a home, a country; and its European communities are not regiments or services, but complete societies planted and rooted in the soil, multiplying and spreading with the vigour of a richly endowed nature, easily mastering the other forces with which it comes in contact.

Without the evidence of facts these assertions would be mere bombast. Let us then rapidly glance at what South Africa has already become—what has been accomplished, acquired by it, and what influence it has obtained over its native peoples. And here let it be said that it would be vain indeed to talk of European

colonisation spreading and establishing itself throughout Africa, unless there were reason to be confident that mere conquest and territorial possession can be accompanied by the art of breaking-in, taming, and training the natives to co-operation. In one very important respect Africa is unlike America and Australia. It is inhabited by people who are to be counted by the million, and who are not accommodating enough to perish as the white man flourishes. The development of colonisation and the progress of dominion must include the wise management of the natives for their good. Had South Africa no proof to show of its ability for this work, its best friends might well be silent about its future. Happily, however, it has such proof. It has not only added territory to territory and pushed its frontier lustily to the north, but it has also, by an honest purpose, firm endeavour, and fair skill, given newness of life to large bodies of African natives.

In the first place, however, let me direct attention to the size and expansiveness of the South Africa settlements—to the advancing tide of European occupation, as also to the signs of that growing wealth, power, and enterprise which promise to give to that tide a perpetual flow.

The coast line of British South Africa, curving from the mouth of the Orange, which opens into the Atlantic, to that of the Tugela, which empties itself into the Indian Ocean, is not much less than 2,000 miles in length. It must not be supposed, however, that British South Africa is merely a littoral strip, with here and there at distant intervals a coast trading station. From the southernmost point where Cape Agulhas fronts the Southern Ocean, the Cape and Natal traverse the interior over a district of quite 500 miles, while the inland frontier chord, from foot to foot of the great arc, is a thousand miles long. Within this sea coast and landward boundary of three thousand miles there are quite three hundred thousand square miles of absolutely British territory. British South Africa—which is not the whole of Colonial South Africa—is therefore a vast possession and a splendid starting-point for civilisation.

In this large land Her Majesty has more than a million subjects, one-fourth of British blood. The Cape Natal and Griqualand West are dotted over with towns, villages, and homesteads, and are traversed by roads. Colonisation has not tarried by the sea-shore, but has its settlements on the remotest points of the inland frontier. Industry has taken set forms everywhere within the boundaries, and commerce, with its usual enterprise, has pushed its operations far beyond the border. Three railway lines are being constructed,

and three more are being surveyed, the Cape Colony alone venturing upon an expenditure in this department of £5,000,000. The telegraphic wires have a length of 2,000 miles. The products and exports of the settlements are various, and some have a certain splendour of attraction. They include wool, wheat, and wine, diamonds, ostrich feathers, and ivory, copper and gold, coffee and sugar, fruit and fish, cattle, sheep, horses and ostriches. The total annual value of the British South African exports and imports is not less than fifteen million sterling. The total annual value of its products used in home consumption is probably an equal sum. The landed, house, and stock property and public works of the three English Colonies represent an estimated investment of more than 150 millions.

The annual revenue of Cape, Natal, and Griqualand West together is more than a million and a half. There are some States in Europe of historic name which do not enjoy the public income of these obscure British Colonies. Greece, Norway, Switzerland, and Saxony are in some cases poorer, and in all not richer, in this respect, than the Cape, about which ninety-nine out of every hundred Englishmen know little more than that it is somewhere in Africa, or that it was once the half-way house to India. Portugal, formerly the mother of Colonies, can but boast a revenue of three times that of British Southern Africa; and Belgium, that hive of industry, and Holland, once the owner of the Cape, can only count five times as many millions.

The importance of this revenue fact will be all the more recognised when it is borne in mind that it represents an annual sum contributed by British South Africa entirely from its own resources, and expended entirely on Government, the administration of law, the protection of life and property, the promotion of education, the maintenance of postal lines, and the construction of harbours, roads, bridges, railways, and telegraphs. This comparatively large sum is the organised State contribution of the British possessions to the great civilising institutions and agencies at work in South Africa; and it is steadily increasing.

The institutions of British South Africa are liberal and fairly vigorous. The Cape Colony has a constitution similar, in some of its broad features, to that of England. It has a responsible Ministry and a Legislature of two Chambers. The form of Government in Natal is after a narrower type, while that of Griqualand West is still more official. District or county affairs are in the hands of divisional Councils, and many of the towns have mayors and corporations. Education boasts one university, several col-

leges and high schools, and a system of grants in aid which is considered to be admirable. Religious agencies abound, as there is scarcely a denomination in England which is not represented in South Africa. The Anglican Church has there six Bishops and the Church of Rome three, while of other bodies, the Wesleyan Church alone has there a hundred clergymen. Of newspapers, British South Africa has no less than forty. Five years ago it fell to my hand to establish the *Diamond News* on the banks of the Vaal, at a spot which a year before was in the desert, quite 700 miles from Capetown. The commercial institutions include all the customary agencies of trade, banking, and insurance. Corporations well known in London, such as the Standard Bank, the London and South African, and the Oriental, have their branches in almost every town of any size, and the local companies are numerous and thriving. The important interest of communication with England is served by two steam lines, worked by the Union Company and by Donald Currie and Co., and affording weekly arrivals and departures. European immigration is promoted by an annual vote of £25,000, and the maintenance of an agency in London.

Here I mark a stage in the argument. I have given a catalogue—a mere list—of some of the facts of effective colonisation presented by British South Africa. May I not venture to say that if the great mid-continent is to be subdued to civilisation, a foothold has been gained from which a series of steps forward, by and by to become “leaps and bounds,” may be expected to be made?

Another group of similar facts has yet to be mentioned. To the north of British South Africa are two hardy and vigorous offshoots of colonisation—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic, both independent communities, using the Dutch language because chiefly of Dutch descent, but having within and about them powerful English influences. These republics have a white population of singular aptitude for the rough and ready outwork of colonisation, and numbering from fifty to sixty thousand. Their joint area is not less than 220,000 square miles. Each State has a settled government. The President of the Free State was formerly a distinguished pleader at the Cape bar. The President of the Transvaal was formerly a distinguished clergyman of the Cape Dutch Reformed Church. Both are born subjects of Her Majesty. The discovery of gold at Marabastad and Leydenburg has given new attractions to a country of wonderful fruitfulness. President Burgers is now on his way to Europe for the purpose of arranging, if possible, for a railway from his capital and the Gold Fields to Delagoa Bay. The most advanced point of the Transvaal Republic

is a hundred miles north of the tropics of Capricorn, and not more than three hundred miles from the Victoria Falls on Livingstone's Zambezi : while Zoutspanberg, the, at present, uppermost township of the Republic, is scarcely four hundred miles from the Kongone mouth of that famous river. A distance of three or four hundred miles in Africa is comparatively small when the rate at which settlement advances is considered. The Limpopo, which now bounds the pioneer State of European South Africa, is about one thousand miles north of Cape Agulhas, and of that one thousand miles more than five hundred have been added to European possession and rule within less than forty years. It will not take another forty years for the vanguard of the colonisation to reach the Zambezi River, whose sources are in the very centre and heart of Africa. At this moment the Limpopo is being crossed by scouts of occupation. Hunters, traders, and missionaries have their stations beyond it ; and, so it is reported, bands of fanatics (a class from which the forerunners of civilisation, themselves not always civilised, frequently spring) are, according to their quaint ideas, heading northwards, first for Egypt, then for Jerusalem, camping by the way, and leaving marks of travel and rest which in time will become roads and townships. Possession and political boundaries are always preceded by these irregular skirmishers.

The limits of a paper do not admit of much elaboration, but I hope that enough has been said to show that, as the two Republics are the result of the restless, migratory habits of the Colonists of the Cape, so also, from the same cause, will they certainly be the sources from which an upward-flowing stream of pioneering life will continue to issue.

I now come to another part of the argument, which is that the South African Colonies have before them a great work in the whole continent because they show, not only the ability to acquire territory and accumulate the means of material prosperity and self-culture, but also an aptitude for the management of the natives.

It is but little understood in England that of all parts of the Empire, India and Ceylon excepted, South Africa contains the largest number of natives under British rule. The North American Indians in the Dominion of Canada, the Coolies of Mauritius, the Maories of New Zealand, the savages of Australia, the negroes of the different islands of the West Indies, and again the negroes of the West Coast Settlements of Africa are, respectively, not to be compared, as far as number goes, to the native peoples of British South Africa. Counting together the forces of the various tribes and remnants of tribes there are in the Cape Colony, Natal, and

Griqualand West, quite a million of natives are subject to the Queen's Government, while nearly another million in the neighbouring territories of Kaffirland Proper and Zululand may be said to be more or less amenable to British authority and influence. Not only as to number, but in respect to everything which makes the subjection of native races interesting and important, the Cape and Natal present large facts. That is to say, the natives in these Colonies are not merely there, but they are there as the objects of Government and social experiment. They are thought about, acted upon, made the subjects of schemes, systems, and institutions. In the Cape Administration there is a Native Department, and there is a Native Department in the Natal Administration. It is acknowledged in both Colonies that the presence of a million of barbarians necessitates the creation of an especially adapted agency in the State, and that any attempt to deal with these people as if they were on a similar footing with the Colonists, on the ground of a common humanity, would be a ruinous piece of *doctrinaire* affectation or fanaticism. The manhood of the African native is never for a moment ignored by any party, political arrangement, judicial institute, or social custom of the Colonies. But it is clearly seen that he is an African native and not a man of European heritage, in blood or training. Accordingly he has a department in the Government all to himself. There is not only a Secretary for native affairs in the Cape Ministry, but there are Commissioners, Governor's Agents, Magistrates, Residents with chiefs, charged to administer justice and maintain order among native communities, according to an unwritten law in which native precedents and customs are regarded so far as they are right in principle. There are schools for the natives. There are missionaries to the natives. There are native taxes. There are lands reserved for the natives. There is a method of converting natives into citizens. And yet it would not be true to say that the institutions and agencies of either the Cape or Natal are, in themselves or in the spirit in which they have been fashioned, intentionally separative. The object of all alike, whether Government officers or missionaries, political institutions as well as religious, is indeed to make the African as much like the European as possible. The purpose of the special departmental agency is to work out all causes of difference in the State. The people of England need not be alarmed when they are told that in the South African Colonies there is a class of Her Majesty's subjects under exceptional treatment. There is especial care, but no oppression; guardianship, but no denial of right. Now and then ordinary processes

and conditions are disturbed ; the barbarian makes a mistake, and the Colonist blunders. Then comes a period of confusion and apparent wrong. Force takes the place of kindly law and system. The whole scene of disorder is aggravated by the rude conditions of Colonial life. English sentiment is startled into more or less vehement indignation. Probably it is well that England should be sensitive ; but it should be remembered that even in modern times England has had her seasons of great social and political disturbance, in which floundering and blundering passion and force have had their day. It is right for England to preserve for herself and for her Colonies a high standard of opinion with respect to justice, equality, and liberty. Only let England temper her judgments of others with the lessons of her own history.

Allowances being made for average exceptions, British rule in South Africa is entitled to be called beneficent. It is, in many important respects, worthy to be classed with British rule in India, of which England may well be proud. As brilliant it is not, and cannot be at present. But when the obvious differences are put on one side, there stands out, to those who know what is being done in both lands, the happy fact that scarcely a single effort is put forth by Government or any institution of society which is not intentionally directed to the elevation and betterment of the natives. The principles and aims of the Government of India are well known in England. The same cannot be said of the character and purposes of the British Government in South Africa. The general English ignorance of the fact that Her Majesty has a million native subjects in the Cape and Natal is necessarily accompanied by an almost utter ignorance as to the manner in which the responsibilities of government are met.

The Cape Government has not only a native department briskly at work, but it publishes a Blue-Book on native affairs. I do not hesitate to say that this official annual has in it information which can claim to be as interesting and as important to British readers as half the material which Continental correspondents contribute to the *Times*, the *Daily News*, the *Standard*, and the *Telegraph*. The way in which Colonial Englishmen are governing hundreds of thousands of Africans ought to be of as much moment to Englishmen at home as the intrigues of French parties or the fights of Spanish factions. The affairs of Europe must needs be represented in the English papers, but space might be very well found for the vigorous efforts of British Colonists to add to territorial conquests the better triumphs of civilisation over the tribes they have subjugated. In the Blue-Book published last year, there is a

remarkable account of the advance made by good government in British Fingoland over the Kei, and in Basutoland over the Orange. Every word is worth reading by every Englishman.

The story of the Fingo Settlements is indeed a brilliant page in the annals of the Cape. The Fingoes were, in the terrible times of Matuana and Chaka, driven southward from Zululand into the territory of the Galeikas, a Kafir tribe close upon the borders of the Cape. Received as outcasts, they were made slaves and called "dogs," which is the proper meaning of the word "Fingoes." The treatment awarded to them was worse than that given to dogs. Life became intolerable to them, and in their misery they appealed to the neighbouring Colony. This was in 1834. The British Government interfered on their behalf, and the result was that the Galeikas fell upon the unfortunate people and murdered them by tens and scores. Expostulation was answered by the Chief Hintza with the insolent reply, "Well, and what then; are they not my dogs?" Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the then Governor, seized this chief, and kept him and his son and 150 of their people as hostages, and let it be known that he intended to shoot any two of them for every Fingo killed after three hours' notice. (Sir Benjamin D'Urban was the man for his place, and, as a matter of course, he was recalled and disgraced. This by the way.) His vigorous threats were successful. The massacre of the Fingoes was stopped. The next step with Sir Benjamin was to deliver the "dogs" from their masters. The Fingoes, led by the missionary Ayliff, whom a not ungrateful people to this day called their Moses and Aaron, marched out of Kafirland into the Colony—they, their women and their children, as poor a crowd as ever fled from bondage. The Cape Colony gave them shelter, protection, land, employment, education, religion, citizenship, and free manhood.

I must press the events of years into a few words. The fugitives from Chaka and the dogs of Hintza became men from the day when they crossed the Kei. But this is not all. In time the lands of Peddie, Newtondale, and Kamastone became too narrow for the Fingoes. British rule preserved them and gave them liberty to increase and multiply. There was no room for them, their herds and their flocks, and they wanted more lands for their picks and ploughs. Then—about ten years ago—there was another Fingo march. The Colonial Government moved some thousands of them in a fruitful and pleasant district over the Kei, settled them under British magistrates, encouraged them to industry and the acquisition of property, and helped them to that start which is at once the difficulty and secret of progress. The measure has been most

successful. Under the guidance of wise officers—which is the first and the last of the Cape native system—the Fingoes of the Transkei have become a prosperous people, using ploughs, shearing wool, buying and selling, building houses, furnishing them, making roads, paying taxes, supporting schools, and attending churches. I do not mean to say that Fingoland is a Paradise. It is a very long way from being so. But it may confidently be claimed as a witness to the ability of the Cape to deal with the native question in practice.

I turn now to Basutoland. Seven years ago the Basutos were reduced to starvation by a long war with the Free State. The Cape Government stepped in, and by the charm of annexation, rescued the remnant of a once flourishing tribe from destruction. A part of their country fell into the hands of the conquering Boers. Over what was left the British flag was hoisted. The next step was to appoint prudent British men—commissioners and magistrates—to take the starving, unhoused, and fever-stricken people in hand. This was less than seven years ago, and what now? What has been the result of placing these people, not theoretically, but actually, under the care of wise English Colonists? The Blue-Book shall give the answer. Mr. Griffith, the Governor's agent in Basutoland, says:—

“At the present moment a thorough confidence in the Government and in its administration of the laws seems to prevail everywhere. As a mark of this, I may adduce the fact that the paramount chief, Letsie, was without difficulty induced to apprehend his own nephew, a young chief named Sekake, who was charged with the crime of murder, but was subsequently convicted of culpable homicide, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour.

“The revenue is collected without difficulty; crime, especially stock-stealing, is rare; and both chiefs and people submit gladly to the laws. From returns which have been sent in to me by the different magistrates, I find that during the year 1873, only five cases of stealing were reported from the Free State, and in most of these cases the stolen property was recovered before the thefts were reported by the owners. When it is considered that the boundary line common to the Free State and the Basutoland extends from the Orange River to the sources of the Caledon, a distance of at least 180 miles, it must be admitted that the Basutos have no longer any right to be called a “nation of thieves,” which was the title given them by the Free State a few years ago.

“Materially as well as politically there has been progress.

Where only half-a-dozen small shops once existed, some fifty respectable trading stations have now sprung up, the buildings erected at which give a different aspect to the country. Hundreds of waggons enter Basutoland, and traverse it in every direction, collecting and exporting the grain of the country to the Free State and the Diamond Fields. The production of grain has greatly increased, the plough having very generally superseded the Kafir pick. Flocks and herds, which had disappeared from the country during the war, now dot the face of the landscape in every direction. Stone cottages are beginning to supplant the rude native hut, and the Basutos present the general appearance of a thriving and well-ordered people.

“The discovery of the diamond fields has had a great effect upon the country; money has come into general use, and commerce has been much facilitated and increased thereby.

“The trade of this territory, one of the principal granaries of the diamond fields, has been very largely developed during the past year. In 1872 there were thirty fixed trading stations in the country, a number which during the past year has increased to fifty. Merchandise to the value of about £150,000 has been imported into the country during the same period. The exports have been about 2,000 bales of wool, and upwards of 100,000 muids of grain (wheat, mealies, and Kafir corn), also a considerable number of cattle and horses. The articles which the Basutos obtain from the traders are almost entirely either of British or foreign manufacture, and consequently the Colonial revenue must benefit very considerably by the Basuto trade. The revenue collected in 1873 has exceeded that collected in 1872 by £2,953. Larger areas of land are brought under cultivation each year, and consequently the demand for ploughs continues unabated, and the production of grain is annually increasing. Last year the number of ploughs purchased by the Basutos from the traders in Basutoland was six hundred; this has been carefully ascertained from actual returns furnished by the traders themselves.”

With reference to education the report has much to say, but I can find room for only a few sentences: “Besides the general process of instruction carried on in primary and infant schools at all the stations and out-stations in the country, and which are regularly attended by nearly 2,000 children, there are,” says Mr. Griffith, “also two important training institutions, established at Morija and Thaba Bosigo, one for boys and the other for girls, which occupy the best attention of some of the most able and experienced of the missionaries.”

The Governor's agent, in concluding his report, says : " It gives me much pleasure to be able to say that I have received every assistance and support from the magistrates, and as a proof of the able manner in which they have performed their duties, and the satisfaction they have given the people over whom they are placed, I may mention that I have only had two cases of appeal brought before me as chief magistrate. I have also much pleasure in mentioning the names of ' George,' ' Tsekelo,' and ' Sofonia Moshesh,' sons of Moshesh, who are staunch supporters of the British Government, and continue to give satisfaction in the discharge of their respective duties."

So much for the testimony of Basutoland and the Cape Native Blue-Book to the genius of the Colony for native management. I shall add nothing to this testimony except to say that the point of its meaning is that a good native system is the setting up of the judgment-seat of a man of wisdom and a right spirit. It is not theoretical or institutional elaboration, it is the simplicity and directness of personal influence, backed—and I should like this to be well observed—backed by the presence of power. The Cape Colony is strong in the estimation of Fingoes, Kaffirs, and Basutos, and this conviction, deeply seated in the mind of Fingoland and Basutoland, is of the greatest assistance to the agents and magistrates.

Recent events very naturally suggest the question, What about native rule in Natal? How does that show an aptitude for the work of a civilising subjugation? This question is a natural one in England, because in England at this time native rule in Natal is supposed to be summed up in the one word "Langalibalele." Very few in this country know what the true history of the natives in Natal has been since 1845, when it was proclaimed a British Colony. Thanks to a Bishop's Blue-Book and the enterprising London press, everybody knows, or thinks he knows, that Natal is a place where gross blunders and worse than blunders are committed under the name of native management; that Natal is the place where chiefs and tribes are desolated by rash Governors and panic-stricken Colonists. Now the merits of the Langalibalele affair it certainly is not my intention to discuss. I will only ask for my brother Colonists in a much perplexed and greatly tried land a little forbearance from Englishmen who are not Colonists. Again and again, when I read the indignant and passionate criticisms of Natal mistakes in the dailies of this city, I have been reminded of an old sea song, which says :—

"Ye gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease,
How little do you know of the dangers of the seas,
Where the stormy winds do blow."

Let it be supposed that Natal fell into an error when it dealt with Langalibalele and his people in the way it did. Still the error of 1878 is not the whole of native management in that Colony, any more than the Mutiny of 1857 is the sum total of British rule in India. The history of Natal in its relations to the natives is in truth singular; and in its general character and broad facts, I claim it as an additional proof of the genius of the British South African Colonies for native management.

The native questions of Natal cannot be understood without some knowledge of its geographical position and its surroundings. It is a country of 25,000 square miles, diamond shaped. Of its four sides one faces the Indian Ocean, and one the Drakensberg Mountains, which divide it from the Free State. On the north-east side is savage and independent Kafirland, full of restless tribes. There is no British Colony in the world with surroundings of a more dangerous character.

It must be further and especially observed that Natal is nearly 200 miles from the nearest of the Cape towns, and that the communication between the two Colonies is by sea. Natal, then, is a comparatively small dependency imbedded in a part of savage Africa. Now, then, let us glance at its white population. Thirty years ago it was annexed. At that time the Europeans there were not more in number than we are this evening in this room. To-day they are not more than 18,000 all told, men and women, old and young. The Government has been that of a Crown Colony, with a difference or two. The salary of the Governor was until lately much less than £2,000. It is now not more. The Imperial Government has kept there the wing of a regiment. Well, not to weary you with details, what has this little Colony, thus surrounded by dangerous tribes, thus distant from its nearest neighbour, with its handful of whites that would not fill a third-rate town in Dorsetshire, with its underpaid Government and its mockery of a garrison,—what, I ask, has it done in the matter of the natives? It has thrown open its passes and river drifts to the hundreds and thousands of refugees who have fled to it from Zulu cruelty and oppression. It has awarded to these people ample locations, thrown over them the shield of the British name, and given protection, quiet, and the means of a rude plenty. To-day there are more than 300,000 natives in Natal, scarcely one of whom has any other right to be there than that allowed him by British clemency. Natal has become a great native preserve, and for thirty years, with but one exception, the Colony has kept the peace. With half a million of warlike natives on one side; with a quarter of a million of

warlike natives on another side, and with 800,000 savages within it, it has had no war and no civil war, until this misfortune of yesterday. The officer who has been in charge of the Natal Native Department is Mr. Shepstone, a born Colonist. He has had no special service to assist him. His own salary has not averaged more than £600 or £700 a year. He has had no police, except a few natives. The soldiers of the garrison have not been at his command. Simply by his own sagacity and with the help of the patience and courage of the Colonists, he has afforded shelter to hundreds of thousands of natives, subdued their turbulence, and avoided war with the tribes from which the refugees fled.

I sometimes wish that the members of the Peace Society and the Aborigines Protection Society could change places with the Natal Colonists. Much as I admire and respect those excellent ladies and gentlemen, I must say that, were they to make the change, in my humble opinion they would not surpass the achievements in native management which Natal and Mr. Shepstone can claim, and which no single error can be justly allowed to eclipse.

Gathering together the evidence which I have thus been able to produce of the ability of the South African Colonists, not only to possess themselves of territory and to arm themselves with power, but also to yoke into the work of civilisation the aboriginal tribes, which neither humanity nor expediency desire to see destroyed, I hope I may venture to reaffirm, with some slight chance of avoiding derision, that Colonial South Africa has before it large relations to the whole of the great African continent.

The few remaining minutes of the hour I may perhaps be permitted to use in referring to one or two measures by which Colonial South Africa might be made more effective for its responsibilities and work.

It must be considered to be a misfortune that there should be a divided rule in South Africa, and that this should give rise to jealousies, misunderstandings, and disputes between the British-Colonial Government, the Dutch Republics, and the Portuguese settlements. Such a state of things must be enfeebling and dangerous. Within the last seven or eight years, the causes of quarrel between the Free State, the Transvaal, and the British Government at the Cape have been many and serious, arising chiefly out of boundary questions and native policy. The irritation has occasionally been intense. Should present conditions continue, there will be no security against something much worse than irritation. It is most desirable that now, when the feeling of kinship between all

South Africans is strong and warm, the time should be seized for binding together Colonies and States in a national union. Even now the difficulties to be overcome are great, but the lapse of time and the inevitable occurrence of fresh quarrels will make them greater. I cannot pretend to know in what way a result much to be wished is to be brought about, but I am assured in my own mind that it would be useless to contemplate anything but kindly, respectful, and conciliatory approaches to the Free State and the Transvaal. Force is out of the question. The Cape Colony and Natal are full of people having close personal and family relationships with the inhabitants of those States, and also strong political and religious sympathies. Besides, to make them effective parts of a national community, they must take their place willingly. The chief obstacle is the flag. The question with each State is the question of abandoning an independent position for a place in a confederation which would not be independent, but dependent upon England. It is a question of sentiment, and sentiment is a very obstinate as well as a very delicate force. There is no chance for a South African confederation but through responsible government. The idea of a South African Dominion enjoying the same form of government, the same powers and privileges, as the Dominion of Canada, might perhaps, if presented to the two Dutch republics by an accomplished diplomat, skilled in the art of putting things, win from them that hesitation which in some cases is the prelude to consent. The Cape is now practically a self-governing country. The two Dutch States, by becoming like the Cape, and by entering into a federal union with it and with Natal, would lose but little of actual independence, and would be large practical gainers by the alliance.

And here I may be permitted to say that I have, since writing this paper, read with great satisfaction the passage in Earl Carnarvon's speech last Monday in which he said: "Hitherto the interests and systems of all the States in South Africa have conflicted with each other. My wish is to see those interests and systems brought into greater unity. I desire, in the first instance, to see a greater development of those great resources which South Africa possesses. Secondly, I desire to see a uniform system adopted in these States, because as long as different systems exist among them there will be a perpetual source of danger. And, lastly, I look most earnestly to a better understanding being created between the two Dutch Republics and ourselves. I think it would be to the interest of all parties to concur in demanding that there should be a better understanding and a more conciliatory course of action between those Republics

and ourselves." These are judicious and statesmanlike words, and they are backed, if they have not been suggested, by opinions to which Mr. Froude has given an equally earnest and eloquent utterance. Sentiments of this kind from high authority awaken hope.

I confess, however, that I am not sanguine of any near success. Meanwhile, attention and effort might well be directed to the consolidation of the British possessions in South Africa, and chiefly for the sake of efficiency in the important native work in Natal. A few minutes ago I ventured to attribute the marked success of native management at the Cape to personal influence, backed by the presence of power. I said that the Cape was strong in the estimation of Fingoes, Kafirs, and Basutos, and that this consciousness of strength was important. Now, Natal is not strong in the sense in which the Cape is. The half a million of natives in the Cape are confronted by a quarter of a million of Europeans. The natives of the Cape have been defeated in four great wars. In Natal the 300,000 natives have before them only 18,000 Europeans, and they have not been again and again beaten in the field. Then Natal is separated from the Cape by an intervening, independent, and savage territory of nearly 200 miles in length, except at the point where it touches Basutoland. It is this feebleness and isolation which must be accepted as one of the reasons why Natal has not any such facts to present as those which shine forth so conspicuously from Fingoland and Basutoland. It is a marvel that the little Colony has done so much and so well. In order that she should do better, it is necessary to give to her the moral force of a close association with the older, wealthier, and stronger Colony. This can only be done by a gradual and speedy incorporation of Kafirland, from the Kei to the Umtafuna, with the Cape on one side and Natal on the other. This is a process which happily is going on. The Fingo Settlement, the Idutchwa reserve, and Griqualand East are virtually British. The Residents with the Tambookie, Galeika, and other Kafir chiefs, are the agents of British political power, and traders, missionaries, and squatters represent other annexing influences. What should be added to all this is the settled intention to take advantage of every opportunity to complete the work, so that the Cape and Natal may touch each other and form together a compact power. The consolidation of the British possessions would make them irresistible. The Zulus of Natal would understand the change at once: it would act as a charm.

Consolidation, however, cannot be brought about to-day or to-morrow, while the difficulties of native management in Natal are immediate and pressing, as Sir Garnet Wolseley is now discovering.

It will be a fortunate thing should he, seeing that he cannot bring the Cape to Natal, be able to introduce into Natal the Cape native system in its thorough efficiency. At the Cape there is in reality a considerable native service, including such men as Brownlee, Griffith, Blyth, Ayliff, Bright, Levey, and a score of others. From this service men of experience are told off to locations where they are devoted entirely to the work of native management and improvement. These officers are animated by an ambition to do their duty. They are not overwhelmed with other employment. In Natal the whole responsibilities of the Native Department fall upon the shoulders of a man who is a member of the general Government, and a few men who are magistrates over the Europeans in the districts in which they reside. Properly speaking, there is no native service in Natal, and it would be unreasonable to expect that a Colony of 18,000 whites should be able to support an agency equal to the effective management of a savage population of more than 300,000. Instead of sending marines to the assistance of Sir Garnet, it would be much more to the purpose were the Imperial Government to supply him with the means of establishing a service in the Colony entirely devoted to the labours of breaking in, or alluring, the natives to industry, obedience, and decency. The tribal system, and the power of chiefs and headmen, might then be replaced by fair terms of citizenship, and by the influence of men of vigour, conscience, and sagacity. A dozen such men placed about amongst the 300,000 would work a miracle. The Zulus of Natal are closely related to the Fingoes of the Cape, and Mr. Shepstone awaits only the means and the men to repeat in Natal the singular success which Captain Blyth and his coadjutors have commanded in Fingoland. Natal is a Crown Colony, and England might well spend for a few years an annual £20,000 on a work for which, after all, she is responsible, and for which she makes herself responsible, by occasional interference of a character the most serious.

In concluding these remarks, I may be allowed to say that they take it for granted that the Imperial power will encourage that tendency to expansion which the history of Colonial South Africa exhibits. There was a time, and that not very remote, when England seemed at least to sound a halt. A voice appeared to come from high places saying to "the red line" which marks on all maps the widening boundaries of the Empire: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." It is to be hoped that that time has gone by, and that once more it is understood that all British Colonies, dependencies, and dominions have full liberty to advance, and rejoice in the

pleasures of growth. There is a pleasure in the act of growing. It was my lot to be in India in the time of that great annexationist, the Earl of Dalhousie, and although subsequent events have clouded the splendours of his rule, yet it was splendid, and history in its long run will show it to have been wise as well as brilliant. At all events, no Englishman then on the soil of India could avoid a sense of satisfaction as the Punjab, Nagpore, Burmah, Pegue, and Oudh were added to the Empire. It has also been my lot to be in South Africa while the Transkei, Basutoland, and Griqualand have been brought under British rule. I have witnessed the hoisting for the very first time of the British ensign over lands at that moment proclaimed to be British territory, and have felt an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed,—not ashamed because, from an experience of nearly thirty years spent in British dependencies and Colonies, I am convinced that, in its grand and lasting characteristics and results, British supremacy everywhere means not the mere lust of territory and pride of conquest, but the enthronement of justice, the softening of manners, and the substitution of a living progress for the dead levels or quick descents of Oriental or savage custom.

DISCUSSION.

General BISSERT said he had never before listened to language setting forth more explicitly the real state of the South African Colonies than the paper of Mr. Glanville, which both gave a history of the past and stated what should be done in the future. He had spent fifty years of his life in the Colony, having only left it seven years ago, and the whole of his early service he had seen there, for he commenced as an ensign and left as a general. There was therefore very little in the history that had been narrated which was not familiar to him. In 1820 the British settlers first went to the Cape, and, having had many troubles to contend with, they prospered in fifteen years as English settlers always would. In 1835, when the Colonists were in affluence and prosperity, a war broke out, which denuded the country and reduced it to utter ruin. That occurred under a Governor the most humane who ever ruled there. The Kaffirs were conquered because they had not then become acquainted with their power, and the country up to the Kie River was taken possession of under the name of the "Province of Queen Adelaide." Under the influence, however, of a power which was then dominant in England, that territory was given back to Kaffirland. This act was looked upon as weakness on our part, and was the subsequent cause of two other wars, costing this country some millions of money. In 1835, the Kaffirs were comparatively

conquered, because they had but few fire-arms, and were not then aware of their own power. Had the province been held, as in India, the natives would at that time have become civilised under the philanthropic influences of Sir B. D'Urban. He had read with attention what had been said with regard to the Cape by Mr. Froude, for whom he entertained the greatest respect, but he thought what he had said about its non-productiveness would be somewhat detrimental to it. The fact was, in his own early days, meat was $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. by the quarter, the choice pieces being $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; a bullock could be bought for 15s., and of barley you could get a great sackful for 1s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d (six skillings). The fact was there was much more produce than the people could consume, and the only reason now why the country was said to be unproductive was the great rush of people to the diamond fields, which caused a scarcity of the necessaries of life. It was quite true the Dutch were an unprogressive people, but they were the first pioneers of South Africa. They were a most moral and religious people, very primitive in their habits, and carried out the old traditions of a pastoral people, living in tents and following their herds and flocks into the interior. The reason they left Cape Colony was on account of the treatment they received from England in the liberation of their slaves. No doubt it was a grand thing to liberate slaves, but there was justice in all things. Commissioners were sent out and the slaves were valued at a nominal price, though they might have been bought for large sums. They were paid for in treasury bills payable in England. These bills had to be cashed when there was no cash in the country, and probably for 100 dollars the Dutch boers only got about 10. This made them so discontented that they migrated into the interior, and he remembered, as a young man, carrying a Bible to each of the three principal leaders of that expedition, named Pritter Retief, Gert Mauritz, Prit Uys—"PritterMauritzBerg," the capital of Natal, being then called after the combined names of the former two pioneers of South Africa. They left in 1837, pushed their way into the interior, and after going through great privations and fighting the natives, they established themselves in the interior, now called the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic, and in Natal in 1840. In 1843, Natal was taken from them by the English, General Smith having command of the expedition, which marched overland from the Cape Colony and took possession. They found the country most amazingly fertile, sweet potatoes growing in large quantities, and crocks which had been left behind and overturned when the kraals were abandoned, being filled with wild hives and honey. After 1835, the Cape Colony again became

prosperous, Merino sheep having been imported, and from that time the Colony made excellent progress, and its importance greatly increased. In 1846, another war took place, which cost England two and a half millions, and British Kaffaria had to be retaken, in consequence of its having been abandoned at an earlier period. A subsequent war also took place in 1850, which lasted for three years, and entirely devastated the frontier provinces. Passing from Cape Colony to Natal, he might state that he was there three years as Governor, when a similar affair took place to that of Langalibalele. He annexed about a million acres of no man's land to the Colony, and took possession of it under authority from Home, a greater part of the natives having applied to become British subjects. One chief, however, was contumacious, like Langalibalele; but instead of calling out the Colonists, which he considered was a mistake, he used the loyal black men to put down the disloyal ones, and in less than twenty-four hours that chief succumbed to the influence of his own and neighbouring people. That district was now called the province of Alfred, and it would be one of the most important, being most fertile, and the only part now available for emigration. His idea was that the great thing which would make these Kaffirs more loyal was, instead of having tribal rights—that is, putting great tracts of country entirely under the dominion of a chief—to grant personal and independent titles to individuals, so as to make each man a loyal subject of the Government from whom he held his property, instead of being amenable only to his own chief. There were still two and a half millions of acres of waste land in Natal, portions of which he should like to see reserved for the natives on the terms of their paying a hut-tax, as they did at present. He would make the grants to young men only on condition of their having but one wife, for the old men possessed wives innumerable. By these means they would get rid of the system of polygamy, which was a great evil, but one which could not be put down with a high hand. By the means he had suggested, however, he thought the young men would come forward and take their wives on that principle. This would soon bring about a better state of things, and the interests of the rising generation would become detached from the chiefs. Mr. Glanville had referred to Delagoa Bay and the visit of the President of the Transvaal to England in order to arrange for opening up a railway there. He was quite convinced that Africa ought to belong to the English and not to any foreign Power, but there was a question of arbitration now pending between England and Portugal before the French Government. If the decision were given in favour of

Portugal, he feared their rights over the country would be ceded to the Free State, and from the Free State they would pass to Germany, so that we should have a foreign Power in South Africa which would tap the whole of our commerce, and take the trade of the interior away from England. He would not go into military matters, because an excellent soldier, with whom he had served, had just been sent out there, and he was sure he would do everything that was right. He would, however, find it impossible to get on with the natives without the concurrence of Mr. Shepstone, who was looked upon as the father and brother of every Zulu. When the Governor was not present, Mr. Shepstone was saluted by the title of "Highat" by the whole Zulu nation, which meant king, governor, father. They all respected and loved him, and his only enemies were those who thought he was too lenient to the natives. With regard to the Langelibalele affair, he thought a great mistake was made in calling out the European element against the native element, and it would have been better to have let the loyal natives put down the disloyal ones, the European troops only acting as arbitrators between the two. The number of Zulus in Natal increased every day. When he went there in 1840, there were 30,000, whilst there were now 300,000. This was owing to a constant stream of emigration from Zululand into Natal. Hitherto these men had looked upon the white men as their protectors, and sought their support against their oppressors, the native chiefs—Chaka and Dingan, who would have exterminated those in Natal, had it not been for the support they received from Europeans. This late unfortunate collision, however, made them now look upon the white man with suspicion, and he was sorry to say that in the first collision the white men did not show to that great advantage they always had done hitherto in South African wars, owing to an unfortunate panic. Peace in Natal has hitherto been maintained by a sort of balance of power, as in Europe. There are now about 300,000 Zulus and other natives in the Colony, while there are between 400,000 and 500,000 Zulus immediately beyond it; besides about an equal number of other tribes adjoining. The stream of refugee Zulus into Natal increases the one body while it decreases the other, and it is when the numbers predominate within the Colony that the great danger of a war will arise, for those in Natal will no longer dread those beyond, between whom there is a bitter feeling for their desertion, and they will then no longer need the protection and support of the European Colonists, particularly as the previous good feeling between the two races has been shaken by the late unfortunate collision. The

natives in Natal pay about £25,000 a year towards the revenue, from the hut-tax of 10s. per hut ; but besides that sum there was a heavy tax on all the articles which they used, such as blankets, hoes, beads, &c., so that the total amount must be nearly double. This was a revenue by no means to be despised. The Zulus were only allotted from five to ten acres of land each, whilst the English settlers had as much as from 100 to 6,000 acres each. The natives therefore looked with much jealousy on the unoccupied lands held by the white inhabitants ; because as their numbers increased there was not room for them in their own locations. He rejoiced, therefore, that a late railway scheme had fallen through, because, had it been accepted and approved, there would not have been one acre left for emigration purposes or for extending the native reserves, the whole being given to the company under the concession. The result would have been that the natives would have been so crowded that they could not have existed, and probably a war would have been the result. He thought now was the time to go thoroughly into the land question, and for the Government to concede to the natives that which was just and right, so that they might have sufficient land on which to exist, and have no cause of complaint ; for were the large number of natives now squatting upon waste Government land to be compressed into the "Locations," it would have caused such excitement and discontent, that war would have been imminent, and as these natives pay the hut-tax, it is not a great loss to the Government ; while, had these lands passed to the railway company, they would not have been content with this tax, but would have sought to remove the natives at once in order to realise capital from the concession of land. It must nevertheless be understood that I am a great advocate for railways in the Colony ; but not concession of the land. Railway and rapid communication will do more to keep peace almost than any other thing, for it will stimulate the production by natives of articles of export, which cannot now be grown from the cost of carriage, and without railway communications no country can really progress as it should. General Bissett begged to apologise for having taken up so much of the time of the meeting, and thanked His Grace the Chairman and Council for having had the opportunity of being present.

Mr. SARGEANT said Mr. Glanville had spoken of the very little interest which South African affairs excited in the minds of the British public. In this he was no doubt to some extent correct ; still it appeared to him that South Africa had not been quite lost sight of, and that those interested in the Cape and Natal had re-

cently endeavoured to draw attention to the subject and redeem the indifference. He referred first to the very interesting debate in the House of Lords on Monday last, in which many eminent statesmen, including the late and present Lord Chancellors, took part; second, to the meeting which took place on Tuesday, at the Society of Arts, when two papers were read, one by Mr. Bergtheil, and another by Mr. Browning, a civil engineer just arrived from Natal; and lastly, to the present meeting. He did not think under these circumstances that South African affairs could be said to be entirely neglected in this country. He must beg leave to thank Mr. Glanville for his most interesting paper, also for the very handsome manner in which he had spoken of his friend Mr. Shepstone, a gentleman by whose side he had the honour to sit for some years as a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Natal. He had for many years past seen Mr. Shepstone's praises written in official despatches over and over again, and had heard him spoken of in official circles with the highest admiration. It was very pleasing to hear from a gentleman evidently of shrewd and close observation, a man independent of governments, whether Imperial or Colonial—words of such sterling praise. The paper contained a vast amount of information, but nothing to which he could in any way object; he therefore would not detain the meeting any longer than to say that he thought, after a few more gatherings, such as had been held this week, those interested in South Africa would not have long to look upon the South African Colonies as the Cinderella of the British Empire, as described by Mr. Glanville at the commencement of his paper.

Mr. J. BERGTHEIL expressed the pleasure he experienced in listening to the able paper just read by Mr. Glanville. The sketch given of the past thirty-five years was very much like the bringing before him the picture of his own life, for nearly every incident referred to had passed under his own observation. He begged specially to thank Mr. Glanville for the kind words he had said on behalf of that unfortunate little Colony—Natal. He called it unfortunate because it was misjudged. He would not detain the meeting by entering on the affair of Langelibalele, but he wished to state clearly that he did not admit that the expulsion of Langelibalele was either a mistake or a wrong. The man deserved all he got; and if any mistake was made it was made in interfering at Home. A confederation between the Transvaal Republic and Natal had been referred to, but so long as this interference from Home continues the Dutch Boers would take good care that nothing of the sort should occur. The Boers managed their natives their

own way; and he was bound to admit that in his opinion they managed them better than the Natal Government. He also begged to say that this little Colony, Natal, had never cost the British Empire one penny; for it not only had always paid its own expenses, but had also met the expenses of the government of 300,000 natives residing within its territories. Mr. Glanville called Natal a Crown Colony; he wished it were, but at present it was neither one thing nor the other. It was a Crown Colony whenever it suited the Home Government, and it was a Free Colony, responsible for its own acts, whenever it suited the Government to say, "Manage your own affairs." He had the honour of being a member of the Legislature when the Charter was received in the Colony, and he designated it then, as he did now, as worse than no Charter. For instance, while the white inhabitants were 12,000, the blacks were 300,000; yet the only reference to these natives was *one* line, viz. "Native reserve, £5,000." Whenever a question arose about imposing additional taxes it was said directly, "You have a free Legislature, do it yourself;" and the same if they wanted a railway. But whenever it became a question of defence, or of doing this or that which they thought right and which they were willing to defend before the whole world, the Home Government says, "You are only a Crown Colony, and you must do as we tell you." He wished to conclude with a word to the Press. The daily newspapers had been holding forth that we must stand up for English justice, and see that justice was done to the unfortunate natives—intimating that the white man was wrong and the black man right; he therefore hoped that the Press would really watch the progress of the Colony well, and not wait until some unfortunate incident occurred, such as had been referred to on the coming to England of Bishop Colenso with an improved edition of the Pentateuch; or some circumstances which brought the Colony before public attention. As to what was to be done in the future, it would not be sufficient to say that Langalibalele should go back to Natal. He would undertake to say that he might go back and not a voice would be raised against him, for there was no feeling against him; but it was only felt that he was conspiring, and that it was right he should be removed. The ultimate effect of his going back would be another thing altogether, and steps ought to be taken to prevent future mischief. General Bissett had already told them what had been recommended for the last twenty years. The Colonists had spoken in and out of the House in favour of breaking up the Kafir locations, doing away with Kafir law, making each one amenable

to English law, and giving them their bit of ground; and if the present system of native Government be continued the responsibility must be upon the Home Government. Mr. Sargeaunt had spoken in high terms of Mr. Shepstone, and he (Mr. B.) could but endorse most fully all that had been said; but the Colonists must not be blamed. They look a little anxiously to the time when Mr. Shepstone will retire, after having well earned his rest by a very long term of office, or when he shall be removed by more unfortunate causes, since Mr. Shepstone is to a great extent a personal governor, and without him the Natal Government in its administration with the natives would be as a ship without a rudder.

The Hon. P. E. de ROUBAIX, Member of the Legislative Council of the Cape of Good Hope, said, that as a Colonist from that Colony he felt very thankful to his friend Mr. Glanville for the great trouble he had taken in preparing so able a paper, containing such valuable information respecting a Colony with which he (Mr. de R.) was connected. He was sure that his friends at the Cape would peruse the contents of that paper with much pleasure, and feel with him that South Africa was under a great obligation to Mr. Glanville in having so prominently and favourably brought forward its claims to the notice of the British public. It was most gratifying to find that at the present time so much interest was manifested in this country respecting the Cape and Natal, and, as remarked by his friend Mr. Sargeaunt, that during one week no less than at three different places in London those Colonies had received special consideration. The native question in South Africa was certainly one of very grave importance, and as such should be carefully and delicately handled. No one could speak with better authority on that question than Mr. Glanville, and when he said so he was supported by the fact—with which he thought the meeting was not acquainted—that in the introduction of responsible Government at the Cape, the Prime Minister, in forming the first Ministry, offered Mr. Glanville to take office in that Ministry as Secretary of Native Affairs, which he declined. This was, he apprehended, sufficient to show what weight was to be attached to the views of Mr. Glanville on the subject, especially as the native question had recently received so much consideration in England. As a member of the Legislative Council for now nearly seventeen years, he had acquired in various ways a great deal of experience in matters which had been touched upon by Mr. Glanville. He could not, without going into details, repeat what Mr. Glanville had so ably, forcibly, and correctly advanced, and would not thereby unnecessarily occupy the attention

of the meeting. All that he would say was that he agreed entirely with Mr. Glanville in the description he gave of the capabilities of South Africa—the advancement which had taken place there, and the future prospects in store for it. Mr. Glanville's remarks respecting a Federal system of government were very sound. Everyone who had studied the question, and was acquainted with South Africa, would admit that it was desirable. It was, however, very difficult at present to carry it into operation. A few years since, when Responsible Government was about to be carried at the Cape, the subject of Federation was strongly entertained by the Colonial Parliament, and the Governor was requested by both the Legislative Council and House of Assembly to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon Federation. This was complied with, and met with the approbation of Her Majesty's Government. He (Mr. de R.) was one of the Commissioners, and he was able to say that, although great pains were bestowed by the commission on the question submitted to them, and they admitted that Federation was desirable, yet when it came to matters of detail the opinions were so conflicting that no satisfactory result was arrived at. Without the two Republics—the Free State and Transvaal—it was useless to think of Federation. Mr. de Roubaix most warmly defended the Boers from the attacks which were continually made upon them. He referred to the farmers in the Cape Colony as most exemplary subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, and as to the Boers in the two Republics, they were honest and good people; and he was sure that by kindness and reasoning they would, in course of time, see the desirability of a confederation with the Cape Colony and Natal, and act accordingly. As Mr. Glanville very properly remarked, the object would never be accomplished by force. The honourable gentleman in conclusion expressed a hope to see in a few years British authority extended from Cape Town to Natal.

Mr. J. A. YOUL, C.M.G., referring to the remark made by the reader of the paper as to the lamentable ignorance prevailing with reference to the South African Colonies, said one of the objects of the Royal Colonial Institute was to dissipate ignorance and to diffuse a knowledge of the whole group of Colonies. A good deal had been done in this direction by the reading of most excellent papers, and the interesting discussions which followed, and he hoped all those interested in South Africa and the other Colonies would do their best to induce the Colonists to join the Institution, and so aid in spreading among Englishmen a better knowledge of our vast Colonial Empire.

Mr. H. D. JENCKEN said that some twenty-three years since he

had had a great deal of practical experience of the Orange River States—both these bordering on Great Namaqualand—and had always found the Dutch boer was the best and most loyal friend of the Englishman. He was of the same race, and was thoroughly Conservative. It was this Conservative element which drove them on to the frontier. They did not like the innovation of the Englishmen. The division of property, according to the Roman Dutch law, provided that a man's property must be divided between himself and his wife, and then between the children, the consequence of which was that when families increased farms were broken up, and the Boers found it very inconvenient, being accustomed to large locations. Consequently, the moment they could get a purchase price for the old homestead they sold it, and went further afield, thus continually extending the frontier. For this purpose they were admirably adapted, the Dutch language being everywhere understood in South Africa, and the natives would take any amount of blows and kicks from a Dutchman, where they would resent it with a knife from an Englishman. When it was said that the frontier line could be pushed on and on, there was a natural limit to that—namely, the fever line—for the moment you got to the tropics it was impossible for a large number of white people to exist. You might skirt the line on the western side, but very little would be done amongst the north-western tracts across the Orange River, which were waterless, and it would be impossible to make such soil fertile at any possible expense. On the eastern border, however, the frontier could be pushed forward until it reached the fever line, and there the European population would stop; in fact there had been already terrible mortality in the most advanced settlements. With regard to the native races, his opinion was that if the Dutch Boers were allowed they would save the Home Government an immense deal of trouble and annoyance by doing the rough frontier work, as they had hitherto done by mere physical pressure and superiority of race. Mr. Jencken said that he concurred in the views expressed regarding Natal. This corner of the Cape Colony was thronged south-east and north with tribes of warlike natives, and unless a vigorous policy was pursued, the danger of a very costly and protracted war was imminent.

Mr. WESTLAKE, Q.C., would not boast of any local experience, but he had taken great interest in the South African Colonies, being one of those who had recently felt bound to take a part in the English press in complaining of what had recently been done in the Colony of Natal. For that very reason, perhaps, it was his province, on behalf of those who had felt called upon to take the line, to

disclaim any idea of imputing to the Colony, during 180 years of its existence, any system of ill-dealing towards the natives. On the contrary, they were well aware of the difficulties with which the Colonists had had to contend, and of the prudence and good feeling with which throughout the larger part of its history the Colonial Government had contended with those difficulties. In any Government errors would sometimes be committed, and he thought an error had been committed now, and had denounced it accordingly ; but they must not be supposed to complain of the government of the Colony to any greater extent than he had mentioned. He felt, also, that the mother country was to blame, for having left the Colony so denuded of troops that it was not possible for the small number of whites who lived there, to feel that composure which would have put them in a proper condition for acting calmly and without panic in any emergency that might arise. With regard to Mr. Shepstone, there was no one from whom he had heard greater eulogies on his conduct in the administration of Natal, for a period of twenty years, than from his friend Bishop Colenso himself ; and notwithstanding he did think he, as well as the late governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, had made mistakes on a recent occasion, he did not in the least regret to see that Lord Carnarvon had, in his instructions to Sir Garnet Wolseley, recommended to his consideration the benefits which he might derive from Mr. Shepstone's valuable experience and advice. With regard to the future, he was extremely glad to hear General Bissett enlarge on the desirableness of attaching the native Kaffir to the Government by the tie of individual property in land, which would give him greater motives for industry, and bring him into individual relationship with the white magistrates, and at the same time be an education to him, and the means of raising him in the scale of civilization far more rapidly than could be the case while his only dealings with the Government were through a chief. It must not be supposed by Colonists that Englishmen interfered lightly in their affairs, or that it was a pleasure to them to come forward and make out a case for interference by the mother country. On the contrary, all must feel what a great responsibility our connection with the Colonists entailed ; but as long as that connection continued, occasions might arise when it would be the duty of the mother country to express an opinion. When they arose they were not to be hailed as occasions for exercising power, but rather to be entered upon with grave consideration, and with a weighty sense of responsibility. He firmly believed that the connection of the Colonists with this country was destined to be an increasing benefit to both, and should be very sorry to see anything

done to weaken it. But as long as it continued, both those at home and the Colonists would do well to embrace all occasions for considering their affairs together, and he trusted whenever that might be done, whatever angry feelings might for the time arise on the one side or the other, in consequence of a difference of opinion, they would find the consideration they had been obliged to give to affairs of such great interest to both would end by binding them more closely together.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, as Mr. Glanville had alluded in unfavourable terms to the Slaves' Protection Society, it would not be right in him, as an old member of that Society, not to correct some misapprehensions into which the writer of the very able and eloquent paper, to which they had all listened with so much pleasure, had fallen. He seemed to suppose that they were much opposed to the policy of Mr. Shepstone, but so far was that from being the case, that up to the time of this unfortunate affair they had the greatest estimation of that gentleman. He himself, when in Parliament, had suggested privately to Mr. Huggessen that the Government would have done a graceful act in appointing him to succeed the late Governor of Natal. However much, therefore, they might deplore his present proceedings, they had the highest opinion of him generally. Their object was to secure justice for natives, and it must be borne in mind that these natives had no one to speak for them. Some honourable gentleman said "No, no," but it could not be disputed, that when you found men of intellect and of education on the one side, and a set of uneducated people on the other, the statements of what was done by the governing race would come to this country supported by all that which the power of putting matters forward in a favourable light could do; and they would find everything said against the natives which could possibly be said. That was what took place all over the world, and therefore he was justified in the observation that the Society was pleading the cause of those who had no one to speak for them. At the same time he thought they were all much indebted to Mr. Glanville for the able and eloquent paper he had read.

HON. CHAS. BARTER (M. L. C. of Natal) begged leave to say a few words, having only recently come from Natal, for he had taken no small part both in the councils of Natal and in the affair which had caused so much discussion throughout England. He thought it would be unjust to his fellow-Colonists if he did not say how extremely pleased he was to see the tide was turning a little in favour of the poor Colonists. Englishmen were now beginning to see that it was just possible that even in that neglected Colony there

might be some educated men, and some men with the same feelings of mercy and kindness as Englishmen had themselves; and that the people situated amongst such a large body of natives did somewhat realise the duty they had undertaken by living amongst them, and trying to civilize and govern them. If Natal had not hitherto governed the native population, and he could not say she had done so, whose fault was it? Was it the fault of Mr. Shepstone, or of the Governor? No; the fault originated in the Colonial Office, who refused as far back as 1847 to allow Mr. Shepstone to carry out the policy he then suggested, which, had it been then carried out, would have settled the whole question, and the Colony would now have presented a picture of a native population, not only governed, but improved and civilized. Although it was possible they might have made blunders, he thought the Colonists might claim at least the merit of knowing their own business. They were not known as a particularly timid people, and when they asserted that there was rebellion on foot, it might be believed that they did not say so until they had good reason to know it. His firm belief was, that whatever mistakes had been made afterwards, Sir Benjamin Pine by his prompt action had saved Natal from civil war, and he had the best grounds for asserting that, but for such action, within four days of the time when the troops were in the field, the enemy would have taken the first fatal step, and the country of Weenen, which gained its name from the massacre of women and children which took place there more than thirty-five years ago, would have had its name again immortalised by the slaughter of many helpless farmers and their families. It was well known in Natal that this attack was not only contemplated, but planned and ordered; and, but for the energetic action of Governor Pine, would have been carried into execution. He earnestly asked the English people to allow them (the Colonists of Natal) to govern themselves; they were quite capable of doing it.

Mr. C. J. BUNYAN said the discussion that evening had been of a peculiarly satisfactory kind, from the absence of anything like expressions which could give rise to disagreeable feelings on either side, but he could not allow the observation to pass which had been made by the last speaker, that if the poor unfortunate chief had been allowed to pass out of Natal, instead of being stopped—if he had been allowed to live with his tribe, a vast number of unfortunate Colonists would have been massacred. The whole evidence was entirely to the contrary. The poor man was merely panic-struck, and he was attempting to escape.

A MEMBER: Whose evidence—Bishop Colenso's?

Mr. BUNYAN : The evidence was universal on the subject. Before one word was said by Bishop Colenso on the subject, a vast number of newspapers came over to England, which he examined with the greatest astonishment and amazement. The whole story in the month of March and April was as plain as it was now, and although the evidence which the Bishop obtained perfectly satisfactorily proved the truth of that which before was merely surmised, yet the evidence itself was apparent on the face of these newspapers themselves. He would not say more upon the subject, but they had heard a great deal with regard to Colonial Government and the government of the natives, and he desired to impress on the meeting the result of all that had been said—that the Government of the natives in Natal had depended upon moral force alone. The influence of the Englishmen and Colonists upon the natives had been a moral one, and he believed that the foundation of that moral influence had been the belief which the natives always entertained that they would receive justice from the English. When, therefore, an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances had arisen, which had been followed by great injustice—because nobody could deny that—if there was one thing which could induce good government and safety in the Colony in the future, it would be the natives seeing that the supreme chief in this country could step forward and say that if injustice had been done it should be set right. He would also observe that the Zulus were evidently a law-abiding race, for if it were not so the government could not have been carried on as it had. They had obeyed their chief and what they believed to be the law, and he believed now, in spite of the dissatisfaction felt and expressed, they had still a belief that justice at least would be done to them by Englishmen, and it was that belief which had given safety to the Colony. He rejoiced that not only the Government and the Colonial Office had had the manliness to come forward, and without saying anything which could really give pain to anyone, or without pursuing any vindictive policy, had ventured to do justice to the unfortunate Zulus. He hoped they would now see a new system inaugurated, that these tribal rights would be got rid of, and that the individual natives would find they were protected from the mistakes, arrogance, and oppression, not only of their own chiefs but of others, and be enabled to thrive and prosper in the country which originally belonged to them.

The PRESIDENT having explained to the meeting how it was that he was prevented from taking part in the debate in the House of Lords on Monday evening, said he would now state the purport of

what he would have said then if he had had the opportunity. He differed, in the conclusion to which he had come, from the two gentlemen who had so ably spoken on the opposite side of the room. In the first place, he did not think the argument used by the two Lord Chancellors as to the form of the tribunal, and the proceedings at it, were relevant to the question at all. It seemed to him that Sir Benjamin Pine had despotic power of life and death over the Kaffirs, and any Court of Inquiry which he instituted was for his own information, and he could prescribe the formation of the court and its rules; and he thought it rather presumptuous in English lawyers to think that justice could only be provided by the rule of British courts. Those rules were not universal even in Europe; other courts in other countries dealt in a different manner, and it was quite possible that justice might be done in them as well as by English courts. Some people thought that the customs of English courts gave rather too great a chance of escape to the guilty, but without going into that point, what he wished to enforce was that the Governor had despotic power over the Kaffirs, and that the question of the formation of the court or its proceedings was irrelevant to the point in issue. It seemed to him that the point was solely whether Langelibalele was a rebel or not; whether he was a rebel in leaving the Colony; and whether he intended rebellion, and intended to go to war. The last speaker was convinced that that was not the case, and he thought there was a great deal of evidence to the contrary. He did not remember to have seen much evidence in favour of Langelibalele, but there was to his mind conclusive evidence against him. He was content with the opinion of a man who had been repeatedly most highly and deservedly spoken of that evening, Mr. Shepstone. When he was at the Cape thirty years ago he heard his name, and had heard it ever since, with that of Mr. Brownlee, as the two men whose opinion and influence, with regard to the Kaffirs, were supreme. They were then known, and had been known ever since, not as tyrants but as friends of the Kaffirs, and men in whom both the Kaffirs and the English had perfect confidence. He therefore took their opinion as conclusive with regard to the intentions of Langelibalele. He did not believe they would have risked a collision unless they thought the die was cast, and that strong measures must be taken to prevent an extensive war, which meant with numbers on one side and the paucity of numbers on the other, a massacre of the whites, to be followed in revenge by a similar massacre of the Kaffirs; because if the Kaffirs had risen and massacred the whites, the people of England would not have hesitated about meting out to them the

same judgment which they did years ago to those who took part in the Indian Mutiny. He believed Sir Benjamin Pine was quite justified in what he did ; that Mr. Shepstone was wise in the conclusion he came to ; and that Mr. Brownlee was equally so in backing up the opinion. In short, he believed Sir Benjamin Pine's own account of the matter was the true one when he said, " We are in fact blamed by our opponents for not waiting until the plans of the rebels had been fully matured ; until they had carried fire and bloodshed into the heart of the Colony. We are blamed for stamping out a smouldering fire and not waiting until it had consumed half the house." He believed that to be a true and concise history of what had taken place. Referring to the circumstances of the Colony, he would only express his satisfaction at the progress which the country seemed to have made since he knew it. General Bissett had spoken of the introduction of the Merino sheep, but when he was there he remembered there were no woolly sheep there at all, only those with hair ; they had very broad tails, and it was sheeps' tail fat which was used instead of butter. Reference had been made to the frontier having been altered ; and he must say he regretted, that when the fine territory beyond the Fish River had been taken from the Kaffirs in fair war, it was by influence at home given back to them, the result being another war. The same thing occurred again, and he was convinced that concession to the natives was impolitic. Let them do justice to natives by all means, but he did not think that concessions to the natives were likely to benefit them, whilst it tended to injure European influence. The Limpopo it now appeared was the frontier of civilisation, some settlers even going beyond it ; but when he was there he remembered it as a place to which officers made expeditions for the sake of sport when they had six months' leave, because it abounded in wild animals. With regard to Delagoa Bay, he only hoped that if the Portuguese did give it up they would transfer it to England. Mr. Fowler had said the natives had no one to speak for them, but he thought that hardly the case, when there was a certain Bishop who he should think had great influence in the result of this decision. On the other hand, in the papers from Natal, there was overwhelming testimony against Langelibalele from the other ministers of religion ; and one point, which might make people more inclined to receive their testimony was, that they did not differ from the rest of Christendom about Moses and the Pentateuch. In conclusion, he begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Glanville.

Mr. GLANVILLE in reply said, he had only one word to say, beyond

thanking the meeting for the compliment they had paid him, but that word would be a practical one. Mr. Bunyan had referred to the perfect information which he and others possessed about affairs in Natal. He could not possibly object to the spirit in which that gentleman and Mr. Westlake had spoken; a spirit identical with that of a paper in one of the monthlies, written he believed by one of those gentlemen, which he had read with much pleasure, though he did not altogether agree with it. He did not, however, believe that those gentlemen were perfectly informed as to the Natal question; he did not believe that Lord Carnarvon was perfectly informed, or Lord Cairns either. He would not go into the matter at length, but would only mention one little point which had been brought to his notice that very day. Both Lord Carnarvon and Lord Cairns referred to a statement which he had seen before, that the father of one of the young men murdered by the Zulus sat as one of the judges of Langalibalele. Not only was the remark made by Lord Cairns, but he expanded it, and denounced in the warmest, he might almost say, the most violent language, such a transaction, altogether undeservedly and altogether without foundation.

Mr. BUNYAN said he could mention the name; it was Major Erskine. He sat for two days on the Court, as he had stated in his (Mr. Bunyan's) own house.

Mr. GLANVILLE said he knew all about the two days. Major Erskine told him the whole of the case that morning; that he had just written to the Earl of Carnarvon and placed the whole circumstances before him. Major Erskine happened at the time referred to, to be the Colonial Secretary in Natal, and he was appointed, not personally, but *ex officio*, with all the other members of the Executive,—not judges, that was another mistake,—but assessors. For two days he certainly did attend the Court, but during the remaining nine days of the trial he withdrew, feeling his position was a wrong one, not even going there as a spectator, and he had nothing whatever to do with the sentence which was delivered by the Court. Subsequently the case came before the Executive as a Court of Appeal; but though Major Erskine was a member of the Executive, he was at that time in England, and therefore could not possibly act as a judge of appeal. Those were the simple facts of the case, whatever might be said about the two days for which Major Erskine sat, and of course it was quite possible to make mountains out of molehills. It was quite true that Major Erskine's son was cruelly murdered, but he never sat as judge in the Court except in the way he had mentioned; he had nothing to do with

the sentence delivered by the judge of the Court, and had no influence whatever with the judge.

Mr. **BARTER** could testify to the truth of what had just been said, because he was a member of the Executive, and also sat one or two days on the Court, but retired from it at the same time as Major Erskine.

Mr. **GLANVILLE** said he should like to ask Mr. Bunyan if he had seen the memorial in reference to this matter from Weenen, the place so eloquently referred to by Mr. Baxter, and which had been called "Weeping" (Weenen) from the sad tragedy which occurred there. He should like to know if anyone present, except two or three gentlemen from Natal, had seen the lengthy statement from Weenen, giving the whole story. He feared not; but if so, gentlemen in this part of the world were not so well informed upon the matter as Mr. Bunyan supposed.

Mr. **BUNYAN** had not seen the memorial referred to, but was quite aware that a large number of such memorials were presented to the Governor. One memorial he had seen, that presented to Sir Benjamin Pine by the ministers of religion in Natal, and he was sorry to say that of all the miserable, mean, melancholy documents he had ever seen, that was the most detestable he had ever seen in his life.

Mr. **GLANVILLE** begged to assure Mr. Bunyan that the memorial from Weenen was of the greatest importance to a right understanding of the case, and that it had nothing to do whatever with the statement from the ministers of religion in Natal.

The Hon. Sec. having announced that an extra meeting would be held on Friday, the 80th, the proceedings terminated.

NEW GUINEA DEPUTATION.

ON the 29th April, 1875, a deputation, organised by the Royal Colonial Institute, which was widely representative of England and her Colonial Empire, waited upon the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the Colonial Office, Downing-street, to urge upon him the necessity of at once annexing the Eastern half of the Island of New Guinea to the British Empire. The following is a complete list of the members of the deputation :—

NAME.	COLONY.
His Grace the Duke of Manchester ..	President.
Frederick Young	Honorary Secretary.
H. B. T. Strangways	South Australia.
*Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.....	New South Wales.
*James A. Youl, C.M.G.....	Tasmania.
*Jacob Montefiore.....	Victoria.
*Leonard Wray	Straits Settlements.
*Sir Charles Clifford.....	New Zealand.
*Henry Blaine	Cape.
*R. G. Haliburton	Nova Scotia.
*F. P. Labillière	Victoria.
*H. W. Freeland	England.
*H. J. Jourdain	Mauritius.
*Sir Geo. Macleay, K.C.M.G.	New South Wales.
*Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., and C.B.	
*G. Molineux.....	
*H. E. Montgomerie.....	
Charles FitzGerald	Canada.
T. Purviss Russell.....	New Zealand.
Steuart S. Davis	West Indies.
E. H. Minton.....	New South Wales.
Lord Stanley of Alderley	England.
W. A. Brodribb.....	Cape.
Sir Charles Stirling, Bart.	Victoria.
Alderman McArthur, M.P.	England.
Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.	Ditto.
Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., K.C.M.G.	New Zealand.
George Duddell	England.
W. T. McCulloch Torrens, M.P.	Ditto.
Sir George Balfour, M.P.	
P. F. Tidman.....	Eastern and Australian Mail Co.
— Scott	New South Wales.
T. B. Glanville	Cape.
S. W. Silver	England.
Major C. Carpenter, R.A.	Ditto
Hugh L. Taylor	Bank of Victoria.
W. J. Birch, Junr.	New Zealand.

* Members of the Council of the Institute.

NAME.	COLONY.
John Harvey	Borneo Company.
T. M. Harrington.....	N. Bank of Australia.
A. L. Elder	South Australia
F. G. Dalgety	Australia.
Donald Larnach.....	Bank of New South Wales.
Hyde Clark.....	New Guinea Committee Agent, 1873.
R. N. Fowler.....	England.
F. W. Chesson	Ditto.
Edmund Sturge.....	Ditto.

The Duke of MANCHESTER, in introducing the deputation, said: I beg to introduce this deputation to you, which comes here to ask you to consider the propriety of taking steps for the purpose of advising Her Majesty to assume the Government of New Guinea. The report which Captain Moresby has made in consequence of his surveys and discoveries has awakened our attention, and it has impressed me as well as many others with the very great importance of the geographical position of New Guinea in reference to the British possessions of the Empire in that part of the world, especially Australia. As you are aware, the channel between New Guinea and Australia is only eighty miles broad, and through that channel flows a vast amount of British commerce. There is another channel flowing past the island of New Guinea, which is a new route discovered by Captain Moresby, and which route shortens the journey between Australia and China by upwards of 900 miles. This channel is in parts upwards of 200 miles broad, and by vessels taking that road our communication with Eastern Australia from China would be greatly improved; but if any foreign Power were stationed on the main land with so narrow a strait as eighty miles, they could harass British commerce very seriously indeed. But there is another point which makes it, I think, important that we should assume the Government of New Guinea. Already fisheries for pearl are being carried on, and in this fishing the natives of New Guinea are often employed. Of course there is the risk that accidents will arise, and acts be perpetrated there which led us very much to accepting the sovereignty of the Fiji Islands. It is impossible to control that entirely by making new regulations there for our own ships, because ships can sail under foreign flags. The only way of controlling these natives would be by assuming the government of the Island, from which these natives are desirous of being freed. Another circumstance is that this appears to be a rich country, especially in minerals, having probably valuable gold fields. We all know what an attraction the prospect of finding gold is for the more adventurous and perhaps even reckless spirits of the Australian mining population, and I think it most important

that before any of those people go over there, there should be some established Government to maintain order and peace between them and the natives. I have stated how important it seems to me that we should possess these magnificent harbours and strong positions which Captain Moresby has discovered, and we have drawn up a memorial setting forth our views on the subject, which Mr. Frederick Young will read to you.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: Before I read the memorial to your Lordship, permit me to mention one circumstance, that, although your Lordship is surrounded by a numerous and influential deputation, yet there are a great many noblemen and gentlemen who were, from several circumstances, unable to be present.

The Duke of MANCHESTER: I beg pardon. Before you read the memorial I ought to have added that I met the Duke of Bedford yesterday evening, and on my mentioning that we were coming to your Lordship upon this deputation, he replied that he had not been made aware of the fact of such a deputation, and that he was unfortunately engaged otherwise. He gave me, however, his authority to use his name as according fully with the objects we have in view, and to say that he would have been present if he had not been engaged; and I may also state the same thing of Lord Bury, and others also.

Mr. F. YOUNG: I may mention that Mr. Vogel promised to be present, and wrote a letter yesterday stating that he would have much pleasure in attending but was unavoidably prevented by illness; and Mr. Edward Wilson likewise.

Mr. YOUNG, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, then read the following memorial:—

“TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CAERNARVON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

“The Memorial of the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute and others sheweth:—

“That your memorialists are induced to approach your Lordship by the conviction that it is the duty of all good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty, who desire the maintenance of the integrity and security of the Empire, to bring before the Imperial Government any important question affecting the safety, the commercial interests, and good relations of the Empire. This is more especially so with respect to those parts of it which, from their distance from its centre, attract less general attention. A recent striking illustration has occurred in the island of San Juan.

“With such feelings your memorialists desire to call your Lordship’s attention to the important questions which have been brought into prominence by the discoveries of Captain Moresby and others in the island of New Guinea.

“They believe that the facts now more generally known must lead to but one conclusion—namely, that the authority of the British Government should without delay be extended to the portion of New Guinea lying east of 141 deg. of east longitude, up to which the Dutch Government claims possession of the island.

“The nearest point of the territory in question approaches within eighty

miles of the shores of Australia; and through Torres Straits flows already a large and rapidly increasing British commerce. It would, therefore, be in the highest degree undesirable that any foreign Power should, by settling on the Papuan coast, enter upon the joint occupation with us of this strait.

"It would also be most prejudicial to our interests that any position on the shores of Eastern New Guinea or of the islands situated off its coasts, commanding the entrance to the new route recently discovered by Captain Moresby, should belong to any other Power. This new route from Australia to China will shorten the passage by about 300 miles, and is certain to be much more frequented by our trading vessels than by those of any other nation, and besides it will also open up to commerce the produce of the rich neighbouring tropical islands.

"One of the consequences of the occupation of Eastern New Guinea by any other Power would be that disputes respecting rights of fishing, like those which have long occasioned so much trouble in British North America, would inevitably arise.

"Your memorialists also feel that it is impossible to estimate the extent of insecurity to the Australian portion of the Empire and to British interests generally, which would be occasioned by the fine land-locked harbour of Port Moresby, and many other valuable harbours recently discovered, falling into the possession of a foreign State. The secret of our strength and security in that quarter of the Empire lies in the fact that we have no one to interfere with us; and the only remaining extensive territory in which any other nation could take up a position of undesirable proximity is Eastern New Guinea.

"Were such a Power established there, however amicable our relations with it might be, its presence would at once and for ever entail upon the Imperial and the Australian Governments an increased expenditure for defences in time of peace, which would far exceed whatever might be the cost of our establishing our authority in the island. And should war ever occur between us and the Power in possession of New Guinea, we should enter into it having an outpost of our enemy established in a very strong position at our very doors.

"With regard to the interests of the natives, your memorialists beg to submit that as they must now be brought into contact with Europeans it will be desirable for them to be placed under British rule.

"Their rights to their lands and property would undoubtedly be completely respected under the rule of the Imperial Government; and the establishment of that rule before any adventurers settle in the island will prevent such complications as have arisen respecting titles to land in New Zealand and Fiji, and kidnapping in Polynesia. Gold having been discovered in the island enhances the anxiety of your memorialists with regard to the welfare of the natives. As soon as the fact becomes known to the Australian mining population, an extensive rush will inevitably take place, subjecting a race, described as most hospitable and amicable, to all those evils and outrages which the arrival of any large number of white people, uncontrolled by the authority of a regular Government, must bring upon them.

"The formation, also, by any other Power of a penal settlement in New Guinea, similar to that which is established by the French in New Caledonia, would be a constant source of injury and annoyance to the Australian Colonies.

"Your memorialists submit that all that will be required to secure the objects and prevent the evils with respect to which they have the honour to address your Lordship, is the immediate occupation of such one or more positions as shall be sufficient to make good by actual possession our claim to the whole of the coast line of the eastern moiety of the island.

"Such an occupation, it is believed, might be effected at small expense. Your memorialists do not venture to suggest how far inland British settlements should be extended. That is a question which can only be decided after more perfect knowledge of the climate and of the natives has been acquired by occupation of the coast. Should experience prove that it would be undesirable to extend our authority so as either to make a Colony to be settled by a British population, or a dependency to be held like Ceylon, the possession of the coast would still be of the greatest advantage to us. It would secure to us many fine harbours and two important straits which would give us not only the command

of most valuable strategic positions, but also of the trade of an island which is reported to be one of the richest in the world. Having the coast under our control, we should also be able to prevent the growth of kidnapping, which will most probably spring up unless the authority of some civilised nation is established.

"Your memorialists submit that our occupation of the coast line unclaimed by the Dutch, whilst it would give us all the positions in New Guinea of most importance to us, would not in any way interfere with the rights of Holland.

"The fact that explorers of other nations are already in Eastern New Guinea is an additional reason why the possession formally taken by Captain Moresby in Her Majesty's name should be followed by immediate occupation, so that the rights claimed on behalf of the British Crown should not be allowed to lapse.

"Your memorialists would recall to your Lordship's recollection that the valuable colony of New Zealand would have been lost to the Empire, but for the most fortunate circumstance of the Imperial flag having been hoisted on its shores a few hours only before the arrival of a French expedition to take possession of the country.

"Your memorialists submit that the limited occupation they recommend need not occasion any large expense. Whatever it might amount to would be certain to prove insignificant compared with the permanent annual expenditure which the presence of a Foreign Power in the islands would most certainly entail upon the Imperial and Colonial Governments. Such expense might be made a charge upon the new possession, so that the Imperial Exchequer might be recouped the necessary outlay.

"Some of the Australian Colonies might, perhaps, contribute a portion of it, and one of them ultimately undertake the government of New Guinea, as South Australia has undertaken that of an extensive part of North Australia.

"Much might be said of the value of the possession which your memorialists desire should be added to the British Crown, but they prefer to base their cause upon consideration of security rather than of territorial aggrandisement. They believe that they have said sufficient to prove that the safe and quiet enjoyment of the territories already possessed by Great Britain, the security of her commerce, and the welfare of the natives of New Guinea, require that the shores of this island should be added to the Empire without delay."

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : In presenting this memorial to your Lordship I wish to add one or two words to the facts mentioned therein with reference to New Zealand, because I am personally acquainted with them. I happen to be the son of one of those gentlemen, Mr. George Frederick Young, who in connection with a few others—the late Lord Petre, Mr. Lyall, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and Mr. Somes among the number—some thirty-six years ago, having information that France was about to take possession of New Zealand, pressed on our then Government the very urgent necessity of taking prompt steps for securing that very magnificent possession for England ; and finding that the Government of that day was supine, they subscribed together £2,000 each, and bought a fast-sailing South Sea whaler, and equipped and sent her out to New Zealand under the charge of Colonel Wakefield. It was a perfect ocean race as to which should arrive first, a vessel from Brest having started for the same destination ; and Colonel Wakefield only just succeeded in planting the British flag at Port Nicholson, when Baron de Thierry arrived there with the same object on the part of France. In consequence of this, our Government sent Cap-

tain Hobson across from Australia to New Zealand. Meanwhile, the French expedition had already sailed from France, but Captain Owen Stanley, who was at Auckland in the *Britomart*, promptly sailed down to Akaroa, and was thereby able to secure the southern part of New Zealand also to England. Only a few hours after, the French expedition actually arrived, and the remains of that expedition settled at Akaroa, and I believe some few families remain there to this day. I bring before your Lordship's attention the details of an incident with which I was perfectly familiar. It was by the merest accident that that important Colony was not then lost to the British Empire, and now in the possession of France.

Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD: I should like to state one point bearing on this subject which is of importance, and that is, as your Lordship is aware, a very valuable mail service has been established, which goes through the straits between New Guinea and Australia. It affects considerably the commercial interest of all the northern Australian provinces and New Zealand, which can use it as an alternative mail service. The steamers call at Somerset, Cape York, which is growing into an important place, and promises to be one of the most valuable ports in Queensland. It must evidently become a *dépôt* for all the tropical products of New Guinea. Trade will spring up with all the southern Colonies and England, and the straits will become the highways of a most important and fruitful traffic, the consequence of which would be that trade must flow into New Guinea for the exchange of produce with other markets, and if the British Government does not take possession of the island some other country will very speedily do so. The straits opposite Somerset are only about sixty miles across. Were there a foreign settlement established at the nearest point, it would command not only the mail service, but nearly all the commerce of that part of the world. I think this argument, affecting as it does all these Colonies, is a very important one. I can only lay it before your Lordship. I will not go into the other arguments that could be used in support of our contention, for I believe other speakers will treat of them in a manner better than I can myself.

Mr. ALDERMAN McARTHUR, M.P.: I do not think it necessary for me to occupy much of your Lordship's time, after the elaborate and exhaustive memorial presented to you. There is hardly a single argument that can be enforced or adduced in favour of our occupation of New Guinea but is embodied in that memorial. I would now observe that the trade that is now going on between Australia and China, and those seas, is as yet but in its infancy. I have no

doubt that in a few years an enormous trade will be carried on between those two countries, and no one looking at the situation of New Guinea and the Colonies, but must see the great importance of not letting any foreign power take possession of New Guinea. I suppose your attention has been drawn to the admirable lecture or report which Captain Moresby has given before the Geographical Society. It was formerly thought impossible to effect any passage through the reefs on the east of the coast of New Guinea, but he has discovered that there is a very admirable passage about two miles wide, which would save a distance of about 800 miles from Australia to China. I have in my hand a slight sketch of the new passage. It is proposed to have a station on the islands which will command its entrance, and you will see at once how very important it is for us to have this portion of New Guinea, in order to protect our trade and increase it. Every year is breaking down the barrier which has hitherto kept China from Western Europe, and I believe that a large amount of emigration from China to other Colonies will speedily ensue, when you will see a very extraordinary trade carried on in connection with that route. I can only say that the interests of Australia imperatively demand that the Government should not allow the present opportunity to pass without taking possession of some stations at least on that coast. As to the question of colonization, I shall not enter into it, as it must be afterwards considered. I think a few important posts secured by the present Government would be of immense importance to British interests, and would prevent a great deal of evil which the memorial has referred to. I trust the question will be taken up by the Government, as its importance demands, and I feel sure that its decision will be favourable to the proposal we have in view.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON : The memorial, I think, pretty well exhausts the whole of the subject. There are, however, one or two points to which particularly I wish to draw your Lordship's attention, and one of those is in connection with the possibility, or the extreme probability I would say, that that odious traffic which has hitherto been carried on elsewhere, and which has been a great trouble to suppress, namely the labour traffic, which has been carried on between the Polynesian islands and Australia, may spring up in New Guinea. I believe it is very desirable for the Government to take measures to anticipate that traffic between New Guinea and North Australia. I am quite certain that unless the Imperial Government or the Colonial Government exercise the most active degree of vigilance with regard to this traffic, that it will

develop itself and be carried on to an immense extent. It is known, from searches made by Captain Moresby and others, that gold does exist in considerable quantities in New Guinea, for Captain Moresby exhibited some remarkable specimens the other night at the Geographical Society. This will be a great temptation to induce emigration of some of the most worthless portions of the gold diggers of Australia, who, being unrestrained by order, or law, or government, would no doubt be guilty of excesses. I think the consequences of this result should fall upon the Government, if it takes no steps to establish authority in New Guinea. We know how much easier it is to prevent than it is to suppress or to extinguish anything like the slave trade. Even after we have abolished it, it has supported itself in Eastern Africa and Zanzibar, and it is very necessary and important that such a system should receive an immediate check. This can only be done by anticipating it, and by selecting one or two points in New Guinea, and making them the seat of our Governmental authority. In that way I believe the evil might be averted. I think that what has been dwelt upon effectively in the memorial—the great danger and the mischief that would ensue in the event of any other European Power taking possession of this island—is perfectly stated; and I think for those two reasons, to anticipate any extension or development of the traffic in slave labour, which it occurs to me would take place, and also to prevent the occupation of the country by any other states,—for these two reasons I submit the proposal is well deserving your Lordship's favourable consideration.

Mr. HALIBURTON: Your Grace has called upon me as a Colonist not connected with that portion of the world, but interested in another part of Her Majesty's dominions, and I beg leave to confine the remarks I may make to the views which might naturally be entertained, not by Colonists but by Englishmen, who solely look to the interests of the United Kingdom in this matter. Your Lordship, I believe, in making the announcement which you did within the past year that the English people are a colonizing people, has laid down a philosophical and statesmanlike view, which will some of these days be recognised by the historian of this country. (Hear hear.) It is impossible for us to shut our eyes to the fact that although Englishmen at home may have changed from those men who laid the foundations of our Colonial Empire, we have Englishmen abroad who seem to inherit the old colonizing spirit of the English race. I would beg to suggest, my Lord, that looking to the interests of England in this matter, apart entirely from the commercial value of that island, it is the duty of our statesmen to annex

New Guinea. When we recognise the fact that great military powers in Europe are anxious to become colonizing nations, that Germany and France are sending expeditions to those seas, and that Russia itself is making inquiries there, it is as well to turn to the history of British North America, and to remember the great penalty paid by this country for neglecting questions of this sort. When we sent Captain Washington hundreds of miles away to destroy the stockade on the Ohio, a war was ushered in that devastated Europe, and which is known as the Seven Years' War. Even if we cast off the Colonies, no collision can take place between any great European Power and Colonists without involving Great Britain in the struggle: and I am convinced that the few pounds we have to spend now are nothing compared with the interests of the Empire, and of civilization, and above all, the safety of his country; for through complications with some European Power, a storm may yet arise in those seas that will break upon the shores of England.

Mr. MINTON: I have been twenty years abroad, and can corroborate what has been said as to the adventurous spirit of Englishmen in colonizing the different islands in the South Sea. In the part of New Guinea that I was in, the climate was really very good. It was the same as Queensland, a dry, warm climate, drying up all poisonous matters, and the animals were like those of Australia, and they had fruits of all descriptions: pine-apples, sweet potatoes, and everything that you require is growing in Guinea. After leaving New Guinea I went to New South Wales, and I represented what I had seen to a gentleman in Sydney, and we went and saw the Russian Consul about it. He wrote all about it to his Imperial Majesty, and they sent down a vessel to survey the waters of New Guinea. I am the only white man who has penetrated into the interior, and my name is cut on a tree thirty-five miles from the coast. You could not have a better island for settling in as regards climate. There are minerals, including silver and gold, in the island. There is iron-sand on the shore like that on the west coast of New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir JAMES FERGUSON, Bart.: I do not wish to trouble your Lordship with many remarks I might make. I have been lately in the Colonial service, and I should be sorry to inconvenience Her Majesty's Government. At the same time I do feel a deep sense of this question from an Imperial and commercial, but more particularly in its humanitarian point of view. I do feel that if a settlement is made in New Guinea without the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, great wrongs will be done and great

cruelties will be committed on the natives, which it will be difficult to check, but which never can be atoned for. There is no doubt that the class of population that flows from the Australian Colonies are less to be trusted in their dealings with helpless races than others. We know, unfortunately, that even in some of the Australian Colonies very great injustice has been done to the natives. It is perhaps inevitable from the manner in which contact takes place; but still anyone acquainted with our Australian Colonies, knows that things are done which cause the deepest regret to those who are not immediately concerned; and it is inevitable if a settlement takes place, except under the severe control of Her Majesty's Government, that similar offences must follow. I wish to express my hope that in any arrangement which Her Majesty's Government may make, it may be by their direct action, and not delegated to a Colonial Government, because I believe it quite impossible that these races could be adequately protected unless they are dealt with in a similar manner to Fiji. There can be no doubt that these races do require protection even at this moment. There is an extensive trade in pearls with the northern coast of Australia and on the coast of New Guinea. The Commodore has made excellent arrangements, and no one is allowed to trade with the natives except with a license. But supposing any foreign Government gets possession of New Guinea, I do not see how this excellent arrangement could be enforced. It would be impossible to make regulations for foreign vessels beyond the limits of British waters. I therefore do hope that Her Majesty's Government will take possession, and exercise the right of sovereignty.

Mr. HARVEY (Borneo Company): I have been abroad for many years, and am acquainted with the trade of those countries with China, and I have merely to express my concurrence with the arguments and statements of the previous speakers, and to endorse what is contained in the memorial.

Mr. LABILLIERE: One point which I wish to urge is this, that whenever European inhabitants go to New Guinea, whether for purposes of colonization or commerce, our people must vastly outnumber any other European race in that country; and what will be the result should the eastern half of New Guinea fall into the hands of a foreign Power? The British inhabitants being in a majority, will be subject to the government, laws, and institutions of some other European people who will be a minority in the island, and it is easy to understand what complications may arise out of such a state of affairs as that. There is another point I

would wish to call attention to, viz. with respect to minerals. Nothing has been said as regards coal, which may probably be found in that island, in a most important position for the purposes of commerce. If coal mines were to be in the hands of foreigners in such a situation, it would give them an immense power over us in that quarter of the world which they do not at present possess. Another point not mentioned is that, in the catalogue of the valuable resources of the country, splendid forests should be included.

Mr. TIDMAN: I was not aware that I was to have the honour of addressing your Lordship, but I suppose as I have some knowledge of the island of New Guinea, it is thought desirable that I should say something. I may say that Cape York is now occupied by an important town named Somerset. The importance of that town has risen rapidly since the new mail service has been established, because the vessels in the pearl fisheries all now centre at Somerset, knowing that the mail steamer will be there every fortnight. At the same time the trade has so far increased that the Government have in contemplation to move the settlement to a station in Prince Edward's Island, perhaps midway in the channel between New Guinea and Australia, because of a finer harbour as well as a finer roadstead. Therefore the principal town will be within thirty or forty miles of the coast of New Guinea; and if that coast got into the hands of a foreign Power, we should lose the command of the trade highway, not only between England and Australia, but between British India and China, by this change of route, because the trade with China and British India and England must always go through Torres Strait.

Mr. DALGETY: As a merchant largely interested in the commerce of Australia and New Zealand, I cannot help endorsing the opinion expressed by a previous speaker in saying, that looking to the enormous expansion of our steam mercantile navy, which is making Torres Strait the channel to India, China, and the whole of the Indian Archipelago, I think that the command of that highway is essential to the protection of the vast capital embarked in our steam mercantile navy, as well as in the development of the growth of the commerce of our own Colonies, and our trade with China and our Indian dependencies. I won't trespass further upon your Lordship's time, than to reiterate my opinion as to the importance of the Government taking some steps to secure this result.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I would say first, from an Imperial point of view, it is not at all desirable that what may be a powerful nation

should be allowed to take possession of that part of New Guinea which we should occupy. It is pointed out that it is a small distance between New Guinea and Australia, but it has not been pointed out that a considerable part of the year that sea is so smooth that it can be navigated by small boats. Your Lordship's attention has been drawn to the danger to the pearl fishery. To come to the Imperial question, I would remind your Lordship that the late return shows that the trade of Australia is about £85,000,000 sterling. That trade would be in considerable danger if a powerful foe got possession of New Guinea. It is not merely the trade around Torres Strait that a powerful enemy would affect. On the local point I can state to your Lordship, from my own personal knowledge, that the question of establishing trade with New Guinea was very seriously entertained in the Australian Colonies. I have been present when men of business have been discussing the question of establishing trade with New Guinea, and they would have taken a part in doing so, but that there was some idea that people who engaged in trade beyond the limits of Her Majesty's dominions, or entered the countries of other foreign Powers, must do so at their own risk ; and further, there was a great fear of the cannibal propensities of the natives. They are not all cannibals. It has been pointed out by previous speakers that the country can be inhabited, and experience tends to show that where natives of any class can live the Anglo-Saxons can live also. They may not be able to labour in the field, but they are able to take the superintendence of native labour. I submit that as now it is perfectly clear that trade will very speedily start up with New Guinea, that where a large number of Englishmen emigrate the flag must follow, and I confidently think it would be far better that the flag should lead.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE : On behalf of the Council of the Society of Arts, I have to state that they adopt most fully the views of the memorial presented to your Lordship. It is a subject to which they have paid special attention, being desirous of promoting the arts, manufacture, and commerce of the world. The Anthropological Institute also take a deep interest in the matter, but they regard it not so much as a matter of scientific importance, but that the natives should be protected from the evils of civilization whilst they enjoyed all its benefits.

Lord CARNARVON : I can say most truly that I have listened with very great interest to every word that has fallen from various speakers this afternoon. The subject in itself is one of very great interest and importance, and if anything could add to its import-

ance, it would be the presence of so large and influential a deputation. I quite feel that a great deal which has been said is very true. No doubt the physical conditions of New Guinea are in many respects attractive. The geographical position is a tempting one. The fact that it is but sixty or eighty miles from the northernmost point of Australia, and that by the creation of a new town that is proposed it will be only thirty or forty miles off, constitutes a very important consideration in the case. I think that everyone must be proud of the discovery of that south-east passage by Captain Moresby, an English seaman. I quite agree with some of the speakers that the discovery may lead to very great and important consequences. I had the opportunity of examining some days ago Captain Moresby's own chart, and I think it is plain that for some time it is likely to be the main route of a large branch of the Colonial trade. Therefore the deputation will see that I fully appreciate the full importance of this question. At the same time it is for me, as a member of the Government, to hear all that is said on the subject. It is not for me to express very distinctly an opinion in so early a stage of this question. The deputation need not be told that the taking over of a fresh territory is a serious concern. It is a matter into which no Minister would be justified in rushing blindfold, and without looking as carefully as he could at the whole question. While, on the one hand, there are many arguments in favour of appropriating such a territory as the south-eastern parts of New Guinea, on the other hand there are certain grave questions of doubt. In the first place, the climate is not a climate in which a European constitution would be likely to thrive. It lies something like 10° from the Equator, and a very large proportion of the coast surveyed is of that low, hot, tropical character of coast which we know to be very injurious to European constitutions. It is probable—and I apprehend this is the case—that a certain distance inland there rises a higher plateau of land, and possibly there a European might be acclimatized. That is all at present a matter of speculation, and for future discovery. In the same way with regard to the natives. No doubt Captain Moresby has thrown important light upon the character of a certain class of those natives. They seem to have been in their relations with him gentle and friendly. On the other hand, I think it would be unwise to take it for granted that that kindness which he experienced, derived from one single tribe or set of tribes, can be assumed to be a sufficient indication of the character of the whole of the races in the whole of that part of New Guinea; and especially as one knows, as a matter of fact, that Captain Moresby's observations are

at variance with, I may say, the past reports of all former travellers. I am speaking from memory, but I think it is Dampier who, speaking of this coast, says: "The people here are great savages, when they are fired upon they retaliate"—(laughter)—and, certainly, all subsequent travellers since that day have more or less brought back the same class of report with regard to these particular tribes. Even Captain Moresby himself said that there were evident signs of cannibalism among the race whose gentleness he described so graphically in that statement which he made before the Geographical Society. With regard to the mineral wealth to which allusion has been made, I have no doubt there is reason to believe that there is a great amount of valuable minerals. On the other hand, I may mention it was only within the last few days that it was reported to me by an extremely competent authority in Australia, "that, to the best of his knowledge, at this moment there was no Colonist who was either engaged in mining or in prospecting business in any part of New Guinea." As yet the whole thing is a matter for speculation and for future discovery, and we will require a great deal more information than we have at present. I do not say there is not enough to induce us to look forward, but a great deal more is required before we see our way clearly to any very definite conclusion. There was one point which was dwelt upon by very many speakers. It is a point which comes home to me, because I have taken very great interest in it, and I feel at this moment that there are very great and serious abuses with regard to it—I mean the kidnapping trade. (Hear, hear.) I think it was Sir James Fergusson who questioned how we could very well maintain the police of these waters if we allowed the south-eastern part of New Guinea to pass into the hands of foreigners. I am quite free to admit that just in proportion as you have foreigners in these waters is the increase of difficulties in maintaining the police. (Hear, hear.) But of course the deputation must remember that it is impossible to appropriate every territory and every island. At this moment you have to deal with ships sailing under foreign flags. You have a very large number of Germans and a considerable number of French and other foreign ships, and of course I am quite prepared to admit that that does add materially to the difficulty of controlling and regulating that trade; but, at the same time, it is almost hopeless to suppose that you will ever reduce matters to such a state as that the English flag can be the only flag flying in that part of the world. But I should like to mention, on that point, that there is at this moment a Bill passing through the House of Lords dealing with that

particular question, and I hope to propose a clause in committee which will give Sir Arthur Gordon, who is Governor of Fiji, and who has the consular power, the position of High Commissioner and commander of these tribes. I think that may meet many of the present abuses which exist, and though I should be sorry to bind myself absolutely to the point, my present idea is that these waters in the neighbourhood of the south-eastern part of New Guinea may be very fairly and properly included within the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner of Fiji. I think that would meet some of the difficulties raised on this point. I do not know that I have very much more to say. I can only repeat that in a question of this sort many considerations naturally arise, and it is certainly not one upon which the Government would be justified in deciding upon a partial or a hasty view of the circumstances. In the twelve months that I have been here the amount of territory belonging to the British Crown has received a very material augmentation in more ways than one, and I do not think that anyone can accuse me of backwardness as soon as I can see my way of doing anything for the interest or credit of the British Crown. (Applause.) But I am bound to say that with the work which we have had here on the Gold Coast and in Western Africa, and the work that we now have in hand of reorganising Fiji, it is only reasonable to ask some breathing time before we are required to act on a large scale, and to do something quite as difficult to organise and control as either Fiji or the West Coast of Africa. While I am not the person to undervalue or underrate the Imperial duty, which, I believe, attaches to the Home Government on this question, on the other hand I also feel that in such a question as the annexation of New Guinea, the interests which are primarily—I may say most closely—concerned are really Australian rather than English interests; and it is for the Australian Colonies to show a much greater sense of the value of that possession, and to show a certain desire to co-operate very freely indeed in the matter. It is for them to take the first step. At present I am bound to say that while I believe there is a very general disposition on the part of many of the Colonies of Australia to see New Guinea annexed, still I cannot trace any extreme anxiety or desire for it. Of course the time may come when it may be otherwise, and the importance of it may grow upon them very quickly indeed. Circumstances are so rapid in their development, and events move so quickly, that in a very short time hence the feeling may be very different from what it is now. But I say that while I do not underrate Imperial duties or Imperial obligations, I do say that the primary interest in the

matter lies in Australia and the Australian Colonies rather than in this country.

The Hon. ARTHUR KINNAIRD begged to say that it was a very serious thing to omit a good opportunity. Germany was determined to be a great naval power, and would look to colonization as the principal means to that end, and if she looked to New Guinea we may lose a very important Colony.

The Duke of MANCHESTER having thanked his Lordship the deputation withdrew.

SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary Meeting of the members of this Institute was held on Friday evening, April 30th, at the Pall Mall Restaurant, WILLIAM HUMPHRY FREELAND, Esq., in the chair.

THE Hon. SECRETARY having read the minutes of the previous meeting, the same were confirmed.

THE CHAIRMAN said he was exceedingly sorry that the President of the Institute, the Duke of Manchester, was not able to be present that evening, and that it had not devolved upon someone to take the chair who was more competent than himself to deal with the very important, but at the same time difficult question, which his friend Mr. Haliburton had undertaken to read a paper upon. Mr. Haliburton had favoured them on a former occasion with a paper upon almost the same subject; and no doubt upon the present occasion they would have the benefit of his reconsideration, and probably enlarged experience, upon the matter. As he occupied the chair more as a learner than one competent to speak, he should not detain them with a speech, but would at once call upon Mr. Haliburton to read his paper.

AMERICAN PROTECTION AND CANADIAN RECIPROCITY.

BY ROBERT GRANT HALIBURTON, M.A.

Mr. Hamilton A. Hill, the late Secretary of the National Board of Trade of the United States, in a very sensible letter to the *Times*, suggests a striking picture of the present state of political and commercial affairs in the United States. It seems that the general commercial sentiment of the whole Continent is in favour, if not of *free*, at least of *fair* trade; but that the legislature of that country is practically in the hands of monopolists and of political rings. The teachings of experience seem lost upon the advocates of protection. Their empty shipyards suggest no warning to them that fostering ship-building by prohibitory duties is a failure. The falling off in the revenue of the United States, which well might cause patriotic Americans to pause and reflect, seems only to con-

firm these political economists in their course of treatment of the sick man that has resulted in such depletion and exhaustion. It may be as well, before we discuss the failure of the present commercial policy of the United States and its effects, to revert to the history of that country during the past few years.

In 1859 the United States was the envy of the world. Success such as had rarely fallen to the lot of a nation had not only dazzled themselves, but astonished the rest of the world. Their boundless territories, their myriads of acres of virgin prairie land, their mines of coal, iron, and gold, attracting emigrants from all parts of the world, returned a rich harvest to the treasury of the Republic. The nation had adopted a liberal and a prudent policy. It had annexed the whole of North America to the United States, if not as an integral portion of the Republic, at least as tributaries to its wealth. The Reciprocity Treaty threw open the markets of the United States to the raw products of British America. The dis-united and divided provinces of that country were substantially more closely united with their American customers than with the mother country or with each other. The lumbermen on the Ottawa and the Saguenay toiled through the long winters only to bring a harvest to American shippers and exporters. The fishermen of the St. Lawrence and of the Northern Atlantic were tributaries to the enterprise of Massachusetts merchants. The orchards of Acadia supplied raw fruit at a nominal price to Boston and New York, to be shipped abroad at a high price to European and foreign markets as American products. The gypsum deposits of Eastern British America became practically the property of the Americans. All these streams of raw products, pouring from a thousand sources, swelled into an enormous volume, which found its outlet in the foreign trade of the United States. Americans were rapidly competing successfully with the Mistress of the Seas for the first rank as a commercial power. Their clipper ships were unrivalled. In China, India, Japan, Australia, all over the globe, the English shipper found a new and formidable competitor in the self-reliant and prosperous American. In most of the South American markets, and in many of the islands of the West Indies, American enterprise secured a monopoly. Not less than sixty-two millions of dollars' worth of products that were peculiarly the growth of British America were shipped to the West Indian markets by the United States, every penny of which might have been successfully exported by the people of Canada, if they had had the enterprise and the self-reliance to enter the lists as competitors, or had been placed under the rod of some stern taskmaster that would have

forced them to depend upon themselves.* The trade between Canada and the United States also assumed enormous dimensions. From every little harbour and creek along the extended seaboard of British America, small craft, built by farmers and manned by their sons, carried the raw products of British America to American ports, and brought back manufactures for home consumption. Everything that was required for domestic life, for agricultural purposes, or for manufacturers, was imported from the United States. For everything that the Canadians needed, from the very cradle that rocked the infant Bluenose, to the coffin that conveyed him to his grave, they were dependent upon the energy and the enterprise of Americans. To the people of the maritime provinces of British America, Boston was all that it claimed for itself, "the hub of the universe." To Ontario and Quebec, New York was the great emporium and metropolis.

Such a trade, while enormously advantageous to the United States, was not without its benefits to the people of British America. Until the passing of the Reciprocity Treaty the latter were practically without any markets, and the rich products of their forests, their seas, and their mines were of little commercial value. It was true that the Americans reaped the harvest, and that the Canadians were merely the gleaners; but so great was the prosperity of that period that even to be the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the great Republic was sufficient to ensure comfort and prosperity, if not wealth and affluence. It can well be imagined how intimate became the commercial and social relations of the two countries. The old jealousies of the "United Empire Loyalists" were rapidly dying out. The memory of the old war of 1812, like that of the still older War of Independence, was becoming a matter of tradition which was known only to the survivors of generations that had passed away. The influence, too, of the political as well as commercial prosperity of the United States dazzled the Canadians, as

* In a pamphlet written by the author of this article, at the request of the Dominion Government, in 1868, entitled "Intercolonial Trade our only Safeguard against Disunion," a chapter entitled "An unlimited Market for Canadian Manufactures and Products in the West Indies and South America," was devoted to this subject, and gave full statistics on this point. It states that, among other exports, the Americans shipped in 1864 to those markets, 10,764,266 dols. worth of flour and bread; 6,063,443 dols. worth of timber, &c.; 2,755,301 dols. worth of manufactures of iron. "Nor is the field of enterprise limited to those markets. It extends to every country to which the Americans are now exporting. Their total exports in the following items were—Breadstuffs, 38,797,656 dols.; coal, 1,845,928 dols.; iron and manufactures of iron, 6,726,372 dols.; timber and manufactures of wood, 15,036,471 dols.; coal, oil, and petroleum, 24,397,308 dols.; provisions and tallow, 28,156,539 dols.; distilled spirits, 1,886,884 dols.; leather and leather goods, 1,040,543 dols.; tobacco and manufactures of, 22,671,126 dols.—a total of 140,538,827 dols.

it did the rest of the world. It was supposed, very naturally, that the marvellous extension of American trade, and the extraordinary prosperity of its agricultural, manufacturing, and maritime interests, were due to the vigour of republican institutions ; and had this belief continued undisturbed a few years longer, it is difficult to say what influence these commercial and political sympathies might have had upon the future of the Continent ; but in an evil hour, in the midst of their prosperity, a "lying spirit" was sent to tempt the American nation to do battle with its commercial allies, by the assurance that it would surely conquer.

This delusion was cultivated by selfish monopolists and by powerful interests, such as the great Pennsylvanian coal-owners and the timber-merchants of Maine, who found that the American consumer could rely upon Canada as well as upon the United States for cheap and serviceable articles. The manufactories and the homes of New England were supplied with cheap fuel from the mines of Nova Scotia, which, lying on the very seaboard, near accessible harbours, were enabled to supply American consumers on the Atlantic seaboard at a cost which defied competition on the part of the owners of Pennsylvanian coal mines, the heavy cost of railway transport to the seaboard rendering competition with the coal of Nova Scotia unprofitable. It therefore became desirable in their eyes to introduce a system of protection which should cut off the consumer from his cheap supplies of Colonial produce. To accomplish this, it was necessary to veil their cupidity under the garb of patriotism ; monopolists, therefore, preached a commercial crusade against the people of Canada. Mr. Potter, the Consul-General at Montreal, discovered that the commercial relations between the United States and Canada were so intimate and so prosperous, that even a temporary suspension of them must bring the Canadians to their knees, and starve them into annexation. It should not be supposed for a moment that these gentlemen had any desire to turn their obnoxious competitors into fellow-countrymen. Annexation was the last thing they either hoped for or expected. By combining various powerful interests, and buying up the support of unprincipled politicians, a party in favour of protection succeeded in terminating the Reciprocity Treaty, and in cutting off the people of Canada from commercial intercourse with the United States. It was a bold step to take, but it was still more dangerous when they were engaged in a struggle the end of which no prudent man could pretend to foresee ; but the same lying spirit that sent forth the jubilant volunteers for a three months' march, which was to bring them back victors of the South, deluded the people of the

United States into commencing a commercial struggle which they imagined was to end in six months in uniting the whole continent under American rule. The hopeful volunteers who went forth joyously on a "holiday excursion," never dreamed of Bull's Run, Gettysburg, and the score of battle-fields on which the South was destined to make so stout a stand for its independence. Had the North known what was before it, it is possible that it might have preferred to "let the erring sisters go in peace." There can be still less doubt that, had the Legislature of the United States foreseen the commercial struggle awaiting them, and the present evil hour that was to befall the commerce of their country, they might have hesitated before they passed the Rubicon and threw away the scabbard; but wise counsels were in vain; the step was taken, and the commercial war of annexation commenced.

It seems a marvel that a shrewd, sensible people like the Americans should not have foreseen how suicidal was the policy they were pursuing. They put up a barrier of not less than 25 per cent. against those very products which were necessary for their own export trade. The stream was stopped at its source, and American statesmen marvelled why the volume of their foreign trade dwindled away, their ships were idle, and their merchants bankrupt. Everything but the right thing was blamed. It was the *Alabama* and British cruisers that had driven American commerce from the seas; and yet, strangely enough, from 1860 to 1870 we find an almost uniform decline of American commerce.* In 1865, at the

* The following table shows the steady decline of American tonnage from 1860 to 1869:—

Year.	Excess of American over Foreign Tonnage.	Excess of Foreign over American Tonnage.
1860	3,567,374	..
1861	2,806,363	..
1862	2,872,407	..
1863	1,974,326	..
1864 .....	..	404,785
1865 .....	..	273,306
1866 .....	..	1,038,364
1867 .....	..	863,621
1868 .....	..	944,915
1869 .....	..	1,945,026

Mr. Hill, in a letter to the writer, states that "the tonnage of the United States employed in the foreign trade attained its highest point in 1861, when it was 2,642,628. The total tonnage of the American flag that year was 5,539,813. The tonnage employed in the domestic trade of the United States, coastwise, and on the lakes and rivers, reached its maximum in 1863, when it stood at 3,404,506. In 1872 the tonnage registered for the foreign trade was 1,410,648; the domestic tonnage was 3,027,099; total, 4,437,747." Hence by these figures it appears that the total tonnage in 1872 was 1,102,066 tons less than in 1861.

end of the war, the decline was even greater than in the previous years, though the *Alabama* was then at the bottom of the sea ; nor was this decline limited to the ocean, where Anglo-Confederate pirates might be feared if they could not be seen. On the vast inland seas of the United States the decline was equally striking. Protection was at length accomplishing its mission. A thousand different selfish interests entered into a conspiracy against the American consumer and the Republic. It was not enough that the American nation must bear the heavy burden of war taxes. The additional burden was put upon them of contributing millions to the coffers of privileged interests under the plea of fostering native industry. As a matter of course, where every interest is protected, all alike must contribute to the cost of protection. If the coal-owner could raise the price of coal, he was obliged to pay a ruinous price for his timber as a *douceur* to his protectionist allies of Maine and New Hampshire. What went in at one pocket was by the exciseman taken out of the other. The great mass of the American people, however, only experienced the pleasures of one process—that of paying, and not of receiving. All articles of consumption and the necessities of life rose to an extravagant price ; ship-builders were protected, but so were the owners of copper mines. The wood that the favoured shipbuilder consumed, all the articles that he needed in his ship-yards, as well as the labour that he employed, were doubled and trebled in value, until at last it was plain that native industry, in the midst of its good fortune, was starving, like Midas in the midst of his wealth.

The ingenuity of protection, which had accomplished so much, was not yet exhausted. To the many intolerable burthens pressing on American commerce, it added one of a most serious nature, by making even the use of the water highways of the Republic a monopoly, and by taxing the transport of the already over-taxed products of American industry. If there is any principle that holds good in commerce, it is that successful trade depends, not only on the price and quality of the article produced, but on the facilities for transporting it cheaply to the consumer. In the case of bulky articles, such as coal, corn, &c., the first of these considerations is often a comparatively secondary one.

One would have supposed that protection, having already taxed American industry almost to death, would at least have given it the same facilities for finding its way to a market which are enjoyed by producers in every other civilized country ; but the same lying spirit preached to the Americans that it was necessary to exclude foreign ships from the coasting trade, so as to foster maritime

enterprise. Whilst their deserted ship-yards, therefore, were jealously protected, American shipping, having secured the monopoly of the coasting trade, began to dwindle away even on the inland waters of the United States.

Up to this hour this insane policy has been persevered in by the people of the United States. When the recent proposal for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty was made, a very significant delegation on the part of the shipowners of the Lakes waited upon the President, and urged in their behalf a fact which should make American statesmen, and above all American consumers, reflect. They urged that if the coasting trade of the Lakes were thrown open to competition, American shipping would disappear from those inland waters. They alleged, in plain English, that American shipping had been so enfeebled by a vicious system of protection, that it could not exist upon the same waters as British enterprise. This is the more startling, as it cannot be alleged that the *Alabama* found its way into the Lakes, or that the increased use of iron ships had affected the prosperity of the inland commercial marine of the United States. The *Alabama* was indeed a godsend. It solved an infinite number of commercial problems. Whenever the sick man was suffering a fresh spasm from some new attack of protection in some new quarter, there was always the same comforting solution. The *Alabama* was the root of all evil; but this refuge for protection came at last to an untimely end, and the truth had to be faced. The time has at last come when not only the commercial men, but the great bulk of the people of the United States, admit the fact that protection has been a mistake, and are prepared if possible to retrace their steps.

This change in public sentiment has been gradually brought about. "The starvation policy," as the commercial crusade against the people of Canada was aptly termed, is found to be not only a commercial but also a political blunder. The Canadians have been taught a sore but a salutary lesson of self-reliance. They send abroad now their raw products in Canadian ships, manned by Canadian seamen; and the American exporter is everywhere met by Canadian enterprise, which is enabled successfully to enter the lists with its former masters. Manufactories have rapidly grown up in Canada, and Canadian manufactures are now exported to the United States. Colonial enterprise, untrammelled by the heavy taxation of the United States, is able to supply many articles at so low a cost that even a tariff of 25 per cent. is an ineffectual barrier to protect American industry. Messrs. Gooderham and Worts, of Toronto, are enabled to import the raw material for their

distilleries even from the South-Western States, to manufacture a superior article, and then to send it back successfully in the face of a heavy tariff, and to supply American consumers with the cheap products of Canadian industry. Canadian cheese, which formerly found its way to Boston and New York, and was exported as the product of American dairies, is now a successful competitor in European markets. Canadian shipping has gradually increased, and Canadian shipyards present a cheerful scene of constant activity, which strangely contrasts with the sickly spasmodic efforts which American shipbuilding periodically puts forth for the purpose of resuming its former pre-eminence. As a curious illustration of the uselessness of the bounty system and of the futility of protection, it may be mentioned that a liberal grant was made for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers between San Francisco and Japan, which were to be constructed in the United States. American statesmen forget, however, that the hull is not the only costly part of a steamboat. A large portion of the grant, which came out of the taxes of the overburdened American consumers for the purpose of fostering native industry, found its way into the pockets of machinists and mechanics on the Clyde, who supplied the costly engines, machinery, furniture, and fittings for this patriotic line.

Let us hope, however, that there is a new era of wisdom and of prosperity dawning upon the United States. The agricultural interests of the West are finding that they have been forced to pay black-mail by the conspiracy of privileged interests, that have been feeding like a vampire upon the life of the public. The enormous products of the West depend for their value upon the question of transportation. Yearly as the grain-growing area is being extended, the highways of trade are becoming more and more overcrowded, and the exactions of New York shippers and forwarders more obnoxious; and there is a growing spirit among the farmers and grain-dealers of the West in favour of a closer commercial union with the people of Canada, and against a continuance of their industrial subjection to the capitalists of New York. This natural feeling has found a most able and indefatigable advocate in the National Board of Trade of the United States.

In describing the gigantic folly and the ruinous results of American protection, a Canadian finds himself slightly hampered by the fact that Englishmen generally speak with "bated breath" of American affairs, for the agitated state of public feeling in this country on the *Alabama* question, which our Americans would very correctly define as "a scare," and which led to a slight sacrifice

of the rights of our fellow-countrymen in Canada, has not yet subsided.

The reports of the National Board, and the press of the West as well as the East, are as outspoken as I am on the subject. Mr. Edward Atkinson, one of the apostles of Free Trade in the United States, has, in his pungent, trenchant style, denounced the folly and the ruinous results of protection in the United States in terms that, from our morbid dread of wounding the sensibilities of our American cousins, few English would venture to use.

In treating of the subject of the burdens upon the transport of grain, the *Chicago Tribune*, quoted by Mr. Hill in his paper read at the meeting of the Social Science Congress at Norwich in 1873, makes some statements that are deserving the serious attention of the people of the West. After alluding to the fact that there were, besides other grains, nearly six millions of bushels of Indian corn in store in Chicago, the *Tribune* says:—

“This grain has been put in store here expressly for lake transportation. The corn cannot be moved in any other way. Behind this stock there are millions of bushels of corn and wheat in the cribs and station warehouses all over the West. The rates demanded for lake transportation from Chicago to Buffalo are 16 cents per bushel for corn, and we are informed that it is proposed to advance these on future charters to 18 cents per bushel. Corn can be moved at present only by water, and the lake carriers are dependent upon the corn crop for their profits. Last season, while the rate was lower than now, vessels earned their own cost in three months' time. At the rates now demanded, the profits will, of course, be greater.

“Now, while there is in one sense no monopoly in lake navigation, and every man is free to put as many vessels afloat as he thinks proper, and charge what he can get, there is a substantial monopoly in the fact that no vessel not exclusively owned in the United States can carry corn or other freight between any two American ports. Canadian vessels may come to Chicago and carry freight to Montreal, but the law prohibits their taking corn from here to Buffalo. Canada has some seven thousand vessels of all kinds afloat, large numbers of which could be brought into Lake Michigan, and assist in carrying off the surplus crop of the West at reasonable rates. But the law prohibits them from so doing. The result is, that the producers of corn in the Western States have to pay monopoly prices on water. Before the opening of the Straits of Mackinaw, and during the whole season, there will be freight offering at Chicago, Milwaukee, and Toledo sufficient to employ twice the number of vessels that will be at those ports to carry it, while there are on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence a large number of vessels that would gladly come here to do this business if the law permitted them. Now, let the farmers send up to Congress, in the most emphatic form, their demand that these old prohibitory shipping laws be repealed, and the navigation of the lakes be open to anybody who will put a vessel or a steamer on them.”

If the shippers of the West find even nature's water highways have been obstructed by protection, they also discover that the same evil influence meets them on the land.

The great iron roads of the Republic are in the hands of monopolists, who in their turn find that they themselves have to suffer

indirectly from the working of protection. It is estimated that the duty on imported railway iron in 1873 amounted to an aggregate tax of 140,000,000 dols., or 4,000 dols. per mile. The *Chicago Tribune*, referring to this fact, makes the following startling statements :—

“To this must be added the iron needed for annual repairs. But, taking only the figures of the tax on the first cost of construction and equipment, and assuming the whole cost of constructing a railroad at 24,000 per mile, this tax alone would have built 5,843 miles of additional railroad, or nearly twice the length of the railroad from Omaha to San Francisco. This 140,000,000 dols. has to be collected, with profits and compound interest included, out of the corn and other products carried over these roads. To pay this tax, the distance in which corn can be transported by rail has been reduced, and the rates for transportation have been advanced. The man who sold his corn for 35 cents has now to give 10 cents per bushel of that sum to help to refund this tax, and therefore now receives but 25 cents per bushel; and so on, according to the distance, the price of corn recedes in obedience to this well-ascertained law. The gross earnings of all the railroads in the United States, from all sources, in 1871 were 454,000,000 dols., while the tax on the iron alone consumed in the construction of just one-half of these railways was 140,000,000 dols., exceeding one-fourth of the gross earnings of all the railways. Farmers who will attentively read these figures will see how it is that the cost of transportation has been made double what it ought to be, and will discover why it is that, with the increase of railways, the cost of transportation has continually depressed the commercial value of the products transported.”

Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, one of the leaders of the Protectionist party, recently declared that a million of able-bodied, industrious men have been reduced to beggary. At the present time soldiers have to be employed to protect the works of Pennsylvanian coal owners against the crowds of unemployed men that are clamouring for work.*

* The serious effect which the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty at first had on this branch of Canadian industry is described in a letter from the writer to the *Colonies*, dated January 8th, 1875: “At first it bore heavily on the people of Canada, and was very nearly a success. It was especially disastrous to the people of Nova Scotia. The trade in fish was largely diminished, and the exports of coal were almost reduced to a nominal amount. Peculiar local incidents connected with the Nova Scotian coal trade rendered this policy almost ruinous to it. The immense deposits of coal in that province had only been a few years previously thrown open to private enterprise, by the removal of the monopoly of these mines which had been formerly granted to the Duke of York in order to wipe out his jeweller's bills. His creditors took possession of our black diamonds in payment of his debts, and an association of English capitalists for years held a monopoly of our mines. The expansion of the American trade and the effect of private enterprise and capital soon told on the development of the coal fields of Nova Scotia. From 1859 to 1865 an immense impetus was given to mining industry, which was richly repaid. As an illustration of this, I may mention that one gentleman, a friend of mine, took an assignment of a small interest in an undeveloped coal mine in payment of a debt of £1,500. In a few years his dividend on his share was £4,000. The effect of cutting off the only market for our coal was instantaneous and most ruinous, especially to newly developed and undeveloped coal mines. For a time they became almost valueless; mining stocks became unsaleable; and capital could not be procured for

While monopolists and politicians were starving the consumer, and dwarfing American industry, the commercial men of the United States, and of the whole Continent, were in favour of a more liberal and sensible policy; but though their sentiments were well known, they were unable to exercise any permanent influence at Washington. Professional politicians sneered at these Boards of Trade as intruders upon the domain of politics. In order to ensure their due influence to these representatives of the commerce of the country, the very prudent step was adopted of effecting united action on the part of the National Board of Trade, of the United States, and of the Dominion Board of Trade. When these bodies met, it soon became apparent that the commercial men of the whole Continent were almost unanimously in favour, if not of a free, at least of a fair trade.

For this improved state of public feeling the people of the United States are largely indebted to Mr. Hamilton A. Hill, who has done more than any other man to encourage a liberal commercial spirit on the part of his fellow-countrymen.

Two years ago the National Board memorialised the President in favour of a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and adopted a resolution which, though in advance of the public sentiment of the United States, does credit to their own political sagacity. They recommended that the coasting trade and the registry of shipping should be thrown open to foreign vessels. It is impossible that the repeated expression of their views on the part of commercial bodies representing nearly thirty states of the Union, and practically the whole of the Continent, can be without important ultimate results

the development of our mines on any terms. To intensify the evil, a temporary but most bitter feeling of discontent was excited by the policy of Confederation, and there was every reason to fear that, as respects Nova Scotia, the American policy would have proved a success. The only way to meet the evil was to prove to Americans that their policy was a failure as a political move. I happened, unfortunately for myself, to be largely interested in Nova Scotian coal mines, and as no one could move, I took 'the bull by the horns' myself, and commenced almost single-handed and at my own expense to agitate the Dominion against the American policy. In political matters, it is important to give a dog a bad name if you think hanging would improve him. The scheme of American politicians was therefore christened 'The Starvation Policy.' The name was universally adopted, and in a year or two it 'stank in the nostrils' of the people of Canada, and the country was aroused to a feeling of resistance and self-reliance. A series of lectures delivered before the Boards of Trade of the different provinces, and a pamphlet written at the request of the Canadian Government, and widely circulated by them, met with a very unanimous response. The Government was sustained in what was called the 'self-reliant policy' which they adopted. The proposal that we should tax American imports, that had up till that date been free, and that we should enter the lists with the Americans, and export our products ourselves to the foreign markets of the United States, met with a favourable reception. In a few years the 'starvation policy' proved a palpable failure."

on public opinion. At present, however, the question does not depend upon the people of the United States, still less upon the commercial class of that country. The public is practically ruled by the great railway and manufacturing interests, who are combined together against one common enemy, the free-trader; and who have united to prey upon one common victim, the American consumer.

The question, too, of renewing reciprocal trade, I acknowledge, is involved in some difficulty, and is not likely to be solved without some delay. It must be borne in mind that almost the whole of North America is inhabited by the English race, and is divided into two countries by an imaginary line stretched across the Continent many thousands of miles, from ocean to ocean. It is self-apparent that to maintain a line of custom-houses, and the host of officials who are necessary in order to sustain opposing tariffs, must be an enormous loss to the people of the whole Continent. It is an axiom in trade that the near market is always more profitable than the distant one. The cost of long voyages, and of freights, insurance, commission, agency, &c. must be borne by some one, and that some one is ultimately the consumer. The quick returns, therefore, of home trade are in the long run more remunerative and more satisfactory than those of a distant market. Nature has undoubtedly intended that Canada should be the home market for the products of American industry; that the United States should in the same way supply an outlet for the manufactures and natural products of British America.

At the first conference of the Councils of the two Boards of Trade, held in Boston, the idea of a Zollverein, a favourite one with the Hon. John Young, at that time President of the National Dominion Board, was mooted by the President of the National Board of Trade of the United States. As a commercial suggestion, there can be little doubt that it was a sensible and a wise one. It is impossible that in all respects the people of England can be placed upon the same footing in Canadian markets as the Americans. Nature has discriminated in favour of American trade by the interposition of the Atlantic Ocean; and until we can abolish this obstacle to perfect equality and to perfect free-trade, English exporters to Canada must always labour under a disadvantage in competing with American industry. Mr. Young's idea of a Zollverein was discarded at the Boston conference as impracticable as well as imprudent. That something of the sort must ultimately become a necessity there can be but little doubt; but it belongs to the future, and not to the present. So highly, however, did the commercial

men of Canada resent this proposition of a Zollverein by the President of the Dominion Board, that, although its commercial merits could not be denied, they removed him from his position, and ultimately from his seat in the Council of that body, because he had suggested a scheme which, while advantageous to the commercial interests of Canada, trenched upon those of British merchants.

It must be remembered, in justice to Mr. Young, that at the time when this discussion took place the people of Canada were constantly informed, even by officials sent out in Her Majesty's name, as well as by the press and the public men of Great Britain, that they were at liberty to go whenever they liked, and that the Colonies were not a paying speculation. Mr. Young, who is one of the most able and far-seeing commercial men of the New World, had as much right to consult the interests of his native country as English politicians and English commercial men had to discuss the question of dismembering the Empire because they hastily assumed that it did not pay. The conduct of the Dominion Board of Trade is a conclusive proof that Colonial loyalty may yet be found to be of commercial value, and to be profitable to British trade; and that no class is more deeply interested in preserving the unity of the Empire, and in fostering a national sentiment throughout the Colonies, than the commercial men of Great Britain. The first form of disintegration will be seen, not in politics, but in trade. It will be the merchants of England whom the shoe will first pinch. They will suffer from Zollvereins long before the statesmen of the Empire will be forced to face the question of political dismemberment.

The contrast presented by the United States and the New Dominion should teach us a useful lesson. In the one case we have monopolists deluding the people into excluding English products, as a matter of patriotism; in the other, we have hard-headed commercial men shutting their eyes to pounds, shillings, and pence, and remembering only the fact that even in commerce they owe allegiance to the Empire.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. TOBIN said he had listened with a great deal of attention to what had fallen from the learned lecturer, but he must confess he could not exactly agree with all Mr. Haliburton had said, when speaking of the Americans in contradistinction to their Colonial position to England. It was true Colonists had not advanced in

the scale of nationality as Americans had ; but that was altogether the fault and mismanagement of England. Everyone agreed that the North American Colonies had taken a new step by Confederation, and as they were now in Confederation, whatever may be individual objections to its crude powers of constitution, they should do everything to advance their position, for he believed it to be the best and firmest position for them under a careful remodel of the hasty Act of Association of 1867. Many persons had taken credit to themselves, and succeeded in being rewarded, as the originators of the system ; but the question is an old one, and not creditable to the memory of statesmen of the early days of the century. In 1788, when Confederation was proposed by the Colonists to the Imperial Government, in order to enable them to keep pace with the growing prosperity of the American States, who were rapidly realising the advantages of consolidation, the British Government objected to their views ; and among those who subsequently impressed the Confederation of North American Provinces on the notice of Earl Bathurst, was His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, the father of her present Majesty, whose experience and clairvoyance, during years of military service in those possessions of the Crown, convinced His Royal Highness of the necessity of a policy by which, if it had been adopted at that time, we should have grown ere this into an Atlantic Empire of population, power, and position, not inferior to the United States, and worthy the rule of one of the sons of our Sovereign Queen. Under these circumstances we are not to be blamed, if for the last ninety years of mismanagement we have failed to induce emigration, and fill up our land with those who in seeking homes preferred centralisation and fixed nationality to disjointed nondescript territories. He was astonished to see gentlemen desirous of taking from them the right of making treaties and tariffs, by interfering with the Minister controlling the Colonial Department, so far as to induce his Lordship to interpose his authority in the question of reciprocity. Their fathers dated far back in the early annals of Colonization, and he thought the Imperial Government did wrong when they interfered with their right of making a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. They claimed it as their right, otherwise the Act of 1867 was a farce and a delusion, and no better than the constitution now on its way to the cannibals of Fiji, who receive instructions direct from Downing-street, and the Dominion expend their ability and experience in their wants in making suitable Acts, which are dependent on the whim of the Secretary of State of the Colonies to become law, or consigned to the tomb of the Capulets.

No Colonial Empire can exist with a check-string on its treaties, tariffs, and commerce, to be at the mercy of the operator 8,000 miles away. Colonial policy has been hitherto a blunder and a hard struggle with our fathers and ourselves, and we trust in the future at least we may hope to receive some fair play under the trying task of national competition.

Mr. Godson said if he had not known Mr. Haliburton as a Canadian, he should have imagined he was an American coming from the Western United States. If at the time of the war the question had been properly taken up, no doubt some of the Western States would have joined the Southern States, so as to have got rid of the present system in the States, which was set on foot in favour of themselves by the Eastern provinces at the expense of the Western. It was said the reason why Canada was so successful, was because she had got rid of the Reciprocity Treaty; but if that were so, why was she in such a hurry to get it back again? If it were against her interest before, it would be against her interest now and hereafter. As far as reciprocity was concerned no doubt it was against the interest of England. Canada has before done many things to affect her interest with England; the duties were enormously heavy between England and Canada; in fact, there was very little difference between them and those between the United States and England. The Americans after the war had to raise money somehow, and they wisely put their hands in other persons' pockets and protected their own trade, as they thought. The reason for the trade going down in the United States was not so much in consequence of the system of protection, as from the fact, among other reasons, that all the best lands up West had been taken possession of. If a man went out there now as a farmer to grow corn, he would soon come back disgusted, for he would find the only land to be obtained was that of an inferior quality, far in the interior, and some distance from the railways. The Eastern States were running far too fast for the Western States, building extensive factories and so on out of proportion, thinking that was all they had to do to make trade; and now they had to suffer for it. Mr. Haliburton was in error in his statement about the ships on the inland lakes, for the people usually found a loophole to get through such regulations when it suited them, and as is always done here in Acts of Parliament. This is effected in the following manner: a Canadian ship loading at Chicago would merely have to put into a Canadian port, and then proceed to Buffalo to unload. This is done on the upper lakes every day. The touching at a Canadian port does away with the original bill of lading, which is drawn out

to that port, and then a new one is taken out from that port on to the United States one that they originally determined to unload at. He thought Canada was in a better condition than ever it was before, and that it could now go on successfully without any such change as that proposed being requisite for its further welfare.

Mr. BEAUMONT said he felt embarrassed at being called on to speak, as he came to the meeting in a state of ignorance upon the subject, wishful to learn, but not knowing the position of the matter to be put forward to the Society. His remarks must be of a somewhat general character. He had supposed the question would be, What was the policy in connection with Canadian politics? Was it a policy desirable to be advanced by public opinion, legislation, and national sympathy, so far as these had to do with it? As they had been told, the question raised was one of great importance, being, What were the true commercial relations between Canada and the United States? That which in theory might have seemed to be an unfortunate step on the part of those who had abandoned the Reciprocity Treaty, had by accident afforded a very useful stimulus to Canadian trade, because it threw upon them the obligation of self-dependence, and proved to them, under that stimulus, that they were able to stand, apart from the commercial support of the United States, which seemed hardly to be considered possible before. It had been said, if that were so we should wholly forego any Reciprocity Treaty. Taking that as a question upon which two opinions might be given, he did not think it followed that because the interruption of the Reciprocity Treaty had taught Canada a truer measure of her resources, its renewal on a satisfactory basis might not produce valuable results. He thought it consistent with the principles of free trade to look the matter fairly in the face, seeing that the glory and the logic of free trade was, that commerce was not a game of "beggar my neighbour," but its object was to enrich one's neighbour as one's self. This should put an end to the jealousies which, up to that moment, had too often been the guiding influence of policy and legislation, and now that Canada had by happy accident of her neighbour's jealousy as to commercial intercourse, been able to extend its commerce and resources so greatly as it has done, let these be brought into the field, and get an extended and extending system of free commerce with the United States, and they would soon see a greater extension of wealth and commercial and friendly intercourse than had ever hitherto been known. Whether that system would be best advanced by a treaty of reciprocity between Canada and the United States or

not, it appeared clear that the fact of Canada having done well since the system was in abeyance, was no real argument against the application of free trade, and those natural and practical modifications of absolute freedom by which, having regard to their special situations, countries might be brought into the most intimate relationship with one another, to their mutual improvement, emulation, and increased welfare. The question might arise, how far an organised system of reciprocity might be supposed to affect the interest of the Empire, or of the mother country in connection with its Colonies, and that was a question important to be kept in view, but a far larger question than could be discussed that evening. Fortunately, as Mr. Haliburton had made plain, there was no antagonism to be feared on the part of Canada, nor, we would hope, any tendency to overbearing or encroachment on the part of her mother country. Indeed, there is no reason for jealousy upon the subject of reciprocity between the Dominion of Canada and the United States. He had expected to hear some details upon the protection duties, which, it had been said, were to be apprehended, to the prejudice of English manufactures and importers. But that question had only been glanced at, and as he had not learned how the questions as to protection had in fact arisen and been dealt with, he would not venture to discuss so serious a question. It was, however, a fallacy to suppose that the system of custom duties, or any other duties, were to be regulated for the special advantage of the merchants at home, especially now that we gave no privileges to Colonial merchants. In all such matters the question was one of degree, of practical and fair adjustment, taking care that your motive was not wrong, and that you had no desire of excluding the just privilege and opportunity of British merchants, at least as much as others, having free access to the markets of the country. Equality is indeed equity, but that must not be the equality of Procrustes' bed, and where there are questions of local interest, or considerations of a special nature as to whether articles of Colonial commerce should be dealt with upon one system or another, it would be out of place on the part of the mother country, and is not to be expected from her, that she shall assume an air of dog-in-the-manger jealousy upon such a matter. How unbecoming that would be may be made apparent, not only on considering general principles, but the vast revenue which England raises upon imports from her Colonies. When this is borne in mind, the fond ideas of those who treat our Colonies as a burden to us, appear fairly to rank with that equally unfounded one, that Colonial duties are unjust to the mother country. Both

are alike preposterous. On this topic he might advert, before sitting down, to the case, as well illustrated by the Colony where he first learned the pregnant importance of Colonial questions, viz. British Guiana. When it was remembered, and it was the fact (though it might seem hardly credible), that from that Colony, with a population of only about 200,000 souls, we have imported, for a series of years, products of a value exceeding £2,000,000, and upon these have raised a revenue for the Imperial customs of over half a million yearly, it did seem rather too much to say that the Colony might not fairly raise £50,000, or £60,000, or £1,100,000 for its local interests by way of duties upon its imports from England. Some people said there would be a time when the revenue would not be raised by custom dues, but he could not see that that day was near at hand. It seemed to him that the true test of free trade was to deal in a liberal spirit, not applying one rule to all varying cases, but always remembering, as he had before said, that trade should not be a game of "beggar your neighbour," but that there should be equality in spirit, fairness in dealing, consistently applied to the other general principles proper to practical subjects.

Mr. F. YOUNG said he took it that the principle of free trade was so perfectly admitted in this country, that everyone at the present time considered it as the principle which ought to govern the relations of the whole world. If that was admitted, he presumed they must consider the paper which had been read showed on those principles conclusively that the American system of protection was a mistake and a failure entirely. He was inclined to think that some of the reasons given by Mr. Haliburton for the apparent failure of the trade of the United States were not necessarily entirely due to the system of protection which was prevalent in those States. Sufficient weight had hardly been given to the serious war which took place a few years ago between the North and South, which no doubt had had a serious effect, in addition to the *Alabama* question, upon the American carrying trade; but at the same time there could be no doubt, according to the principles now received in this country by all classes, that perfect freedom of trade was the best possible thing to assume for all countries, and Englishmen were anxious to preach that doctrine to all nations of the world. But if that principle were correct, it was necessary that all nations should follow their example, and as long as they did not, certain results, which otherwise would be successful, could not be pronounced to be so. In the case of the United States, when England did away with the Navigation Laws, one of the great reasons put

forward by the advocates of those laws in this country was, that America, which professed to get great advantage from our permitting her ships to come into English and Colonial ports, preserved her coasting trade to herself, and that in return for the opening of our trade to her, she should have done the same. In cases of this kind, as in all others, he considered that the principle should be, give and take, for the only way in which trade could be thoroughly successful, was by a free exchange of all commodities without any duties whatever. If that principle were carried out to its fullest extent they must occasionally find themselves involved in the necessity of giving up something they would rather not ; and in the particular case of the proposed reciprocity between Canada and the United States, it was clear if the United States did away with the objectionable duties against Canada, English merchants would suffer from it. If they were true to their principles he thought they were bound to admit that disadvantage, if it were so, because if the trade between Canada and the United States were free, it would afford certain advantages to those two countries, while against those living further off, and having the Atlantic Ocean intervening, it would be a physical bar. If their principles were worth anything they must be true to them, and admit their application, even when it should appear to be to their disadvantage. He was the son of Mr. Geo. Fred. Young, who was one of the most ardent protectionists of his day, and who was known as representing the principle of protection as ably as it could be done ; but he could not himself concur in the principles which his father had most ably advocated, for he believed it was now admitted all over England that those principles were unsound, and injurious to the development of trade.

Mr. LABILLIERE wished to say a few words upon the aspect of the question as bearing upon the Australian Colonies. He thought those Colonies might learn an exceedingly useful lesson from the paper which had been read by Mr. Haliburton. Australia stood out in the Pacific Ocean separated from the rest of the world, having a vast extent of seaboard and many valuable harbours, and if she knew how to manage her affairs aright, she might become one of the greatest maritime countries of the world. He thought Mr. Haliburton had conclusively proved that protection had been the destruction of the mercantile marine of the United States, and that if persisted in in the Australian Colonies, it would prevent them from acquiring that mercantile marine which they had such opportunities for doing. Some doubt had been thrown upon Mr. Haliburton's assertion accounting for the falling off in the mercantile marine of

the United States, but he thought the cause of decline was mainly the evil policy of protection. He quite agreed with Mr. Young when he said that the Civil War struck a very serious blow at the mercantile marine of the United States, but that war had ceased for a sufficient time to have enabled the United States to have recovered to a considerable degree, if not entirely, that position which she occupied as a nation with a large commercial navy. There could be no doubt that Mr. Haliburton had hit on the right cause when he said that protection had been the destruction of that navy more than the *Alabama* and the *Shenandoah*, which had been at the bottom of the sea for ten years. But how was it that while the mercantile marine of the United States had declined, the mercantile marine of Canada had risen? The fact that Canada had acquired the third greatest mercantile marine in the world, whilst, with the rise of protection, the mercantile marine had declined in the United States and had risen in the Dominion, was the strongest evidence that protection was the chief cause of the destruction of the commercial navy of the former. The reciprocity question required to be dealt with with a considerable amount of care, for it would be preposterous that Colonies like Australia, with merely imaginary inland boundaries, should not be allowed to enter into reciprocal arrangements amongst themselves, but be required to impose taxes upon each other similar to those imposed upon imports introduced into Australia from the seaboard. He thought the concession made by the Imperial Government two or three sessions ago a wise one; but it was different when they proposed to allow a portion of the Empire to enter into reciprocal arrangements with a foreign State, whereby the productions of that State were more highly favoured than those of our own fellow-subjects. Whilst they allowed reciprocity for the sake of convenience between communities within the Empire, he did not think they should allow reciprocity between a community within the Empire and a community without the Empire, to the disadvantage of any section of their own people. The true fiscal policy was one of simplicity—a policy of taxation, whereby they could raise revenue in the most convenient way possible; and if that policy were true of old communities, it was much more true of new communities, like the Colonies with long frontiers. It was a very unwise thing for them to attempt to raise revenue by a complicated discriminating system, whereby taxes were put on this and that commodity imported or produced within the limits of the territory; for the more elaborate the system of tariff, the more difficult it was to enforce it, especially in a new country. The experience of the United States and Canada showed them that

protection was the folly of political economy, and that free trade was the common-sense of political economy.

Dr. COGSWELL said one matter had escaped attention that evening, but perhaps the importance he attached to it was rather peculiar. In former times a differential duty was imposed by the Colonies in favour of the mother country, the effect being that while the mother country enjoyed the trade of the Colonies, the revenue was raised at the expense of foreigners. When free trade was introduced, it was the policy of the day to be very liberal, and one of the ideas was that the differential duty was wrong and selfish, and therefore it was abolished. The Colonies were then obliged to impose equal duties on British goods as on foreign goods. Immediately on that being done, an outcry was raised against British productions being taxed as much as foreign goods. His idea with regard to the policy of England towards the Colonies would be simply this, that the Colonies should give them the advantage of their trade, imposing a differential duty on foreigners in favour of England, and then they would give them the protection of their army and navy. But if the Colony was to raise its own forces, it could not be done without taxation, and therefore English prepared goods would have to be equally taxed with foreign goods.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH said that Mr. Labillière had given Mr. Haliburton credit for having solved the question which was causing so much loss of property to America, and had remarked that it should be a great lesson to the Australian Colonies. Regret had been expressed that the Australian policies were not represented, but he had the honour of coming from that country, and had during the greater part of his life watched the political progress of Victoria. That Colony was now suffering from a heavy protective tariff, but Mr. Haliburton had not solved the question. He had given the cause and the result, but had altogether failed in tracing the effect from the cause which he gave. He wished to express his disappointment that the essay only gave historical facts, and no information as to how they were to get out of the difficulty. He had himself brought forward a plan to introduce a declining tariff, and having spoken to a great many leading manufacturers in Victoria, they admitted that the object of protection was to foster manufactures. As they seemed to think it would take ten years to foster them, his plan was to bind them down to ten years, and compel them to submit to it in a state of decline: if they manufactured at twenty per cent. the first year, it should be eighteen per cent. the next year, and so on until the tariff died out altogether.

Mr. HALIBURTON said that, in confining his paper to an historical sketch of ten years of protection in the United States and its results, he had selected a wide field, to which justice could hardly be done in the course of one evening. He had carefully avoided going beyond even this wide subject, and speaking not only of what had been the history of that period, but also of what ought, in the future, to be the policy of statesmen in dealing with the question of protection. Scores of papers might be written on the subject of protection as respects the commerce and industry of the United States, Canada, and the mother country, and the relations of England with her Colonies, and with foreign countries. As regards the effects of protection on the commerce and industry of the United States, he had devoted several years' attention to the subject, not as a theorist, but as a practical advocate of free trade. All the various points touched on by him had been discussed by him in the presence of the Council of the National Board of Trade, and at social meetings of the commercial men of Boston, to which as a delegate from the maritime provinces he had been invited in 1871. In order to bring the commercial sentiment of the continent to bear on politicians, he had been the means of bringing about a series of international conferences of the Boards of Trade of North America, who had almost unanimously recommended to the American Government to abandon the present restrictions on the foreign trade of the Republic. He had also been able to submit this paper to the criticism of the late Secretary of the National Board of Trade, and also of a very leading American authority on commercial subjects. These facts would show that he had had every chance of drawing correct inferences as to the history of the commercial policy of the United States, and would justify him in his belief—a belief shared in by a large majority of the merchants and business men of the United States—that the present depressed state of American trade was mainly due to the artificial restraints which had been imposed upon it. The subjects touched upon by him were connected with a most important, as well as a most difficult question, for the mastery of which very careful study and reflection were absolutely necessary.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Freeland) said Mr. Haliburton had mentioned a name which he was sure would be received with honour in their country—he referred to the name of Monsieur Michel Chevalier. He (the Chairman) had had the pleasure of dining next to M. Chevalier at a club close by the other day, and although he certainly showed some signs of increasing age, still in spirit and devotion to those great principles of which, in a neighbouring country, he had been

so powerful an advocate, there were no traces of declining energy or of decay. Many matters had been alluded to in connection with the principles of free trade, with a great many of which he thought that everyone would cordially agree. Mr. Haliburton had alluded to empty ship-yards, and what he called a starvation policy, as the results of protection; and he thought that throughout Europe and the world they were progressing to a state of things in which the principle of protection would be regarded not only as a great crime, but also as a great economical blunder. If there were one part of the paper more than another with which he agreed, it was the part referring to the iron roads in America, showing how the false principle of legislation had affected the gigantic roads which carried food to the people; for everyone knew it was an advantage for free commercial traffic to flow over good roads. He wished that Mr. Haliburton had told them more, and had given them some details as to the present state, principles, and results of the Canadian tariff, as well as the changes, if any, of which it might stand in need, which he was fully competent to do. He thought they were greatly indebted to Mr. Beaumont for the valuable practical observations which he had made, and especially for his remark that the principle of trade should be one of enriching, and not of beggaring your neighbour. He believed that everyone present would echo that sentiment. As regarded America and Canada, they should view the progress of any principle which led to a more enlightened commercial or other intercourse between Americans and Canadians, with no miserable feelings of insular jealousy, but with a feeling that their great descendants were carrying out on the other side of the Atlantic those principles of progress, the ultimate triumph of which it would, he hoped, be their glory and privilege to witness. He thought it was not too much to say, that those present were all convinced that the gospel of protection was the gospel of suicidal selfishness; that the gospel of free trade was the gospel, not only of material and commercial well-being, but also of Christian civilization as well as of international peace and goodwill. With the progress of free trade principles in England were associated the names of Huskisson, of Peel, of Cobden, of Charles Villiers, of John Bright, and he hoped that if not those present, their descendants, at all events, were destined to witness the entire triumph of those principles throughout the civilised world. In conclusion, he begged to propose that the best thanks of the meeting be presented to Mr. Haliburton for his valuable paper.

EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on Tuesday, 8th June, 1875, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER in the chair. The HONORARY SECRETARY read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed.

Mr. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS gave the following address, entitled—

FORTY YEARS SINCE, AND NOW.

I appear on the present occasion not as a volunteer, but as a pressed man, for I have been pressed for a long time to do something in this line. Mr. Labillière informed me that Mr. Wilson was to have occupied the place I fill on the present occasion, and the subject he chose was "Acclimatisation," and I thought I could not do better than take up the same subject, although from an entirely different point of view. I propose to deal with the subject of the acclimatisation, not of birds, beasts, and fishes, but of the Anglo-Saxon race. Having decided upon the subject, the next thing was to decide upon the period within which I would institute a comparison. Twenty years appeared to be too short; fifty appeared to be too long; further than that, the statistics of those days were exceedingly doubtful in their nature; they were not kept as accurately as they are at the present time. Then there was thirty years. That is a period some persons dislike very much indeed. The census people say that some persons find thirty years an exceedingly stiff fence; they look a long time before they leap, and the more they look the less they like it. Then there remained forty years, and that appeared to me the most suitable period I could select. In the first place, forty years ago England had just commenced with a reformed Parliament; the Emancipation Act had been passed; steam had not come into use as the ordinary means of locomotion; the telegraph had not come into use as the ordinary mode of correspondence; the modern clipper had not supplanted the old lumbering, but at the same time safe and comfortable, East Indiaman. Further than that, several of the most important of England's Colonies had not, forty years ago, commenced to exist. I therefore decided upon selecting a period of forty years. I believe it is usual on these occasions to reserve for the conclusion any acknowledgments that one may make in respect of assistance that has been rendered in the preparation of the

matter to be brought forward ; but I desire to depart from that rule, and I commence by acknowledging that I have received very considerable assistance in the preparation of the matters I shall presently bring before you from Mr. Labilli re, from Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Haliburton, and from several other gentlemen, who have given me various items of information, which have been of very great use to me in compiling and in searching up old matters which took place long before I had any recollection of these things. I also acknowledge the courtesy with which the Statistical Society placed at my disposal a very excellent paper recently prepared by Mr. Bourne and read before that Society, which I shall presently quote from. I have also availed myself of a paper read some twelve months ago before this Institute, prepared by Mr. Simmonds, and I have used the work of Mr. Montgomery Martin, and the Colonial Office List. I now proceed to take a period of forty years, within which I shall institute the comparison. I dare say you have often seen in the papers an advertisement of Mr. Cook, the great excursionist, offering to take people round the world in ninety days ; I ask you to accompany me on a personally-conducted tour all over the world, and I can safely promise to bring you all back again in about forty-five minutes. But before we start, perhaps it will not be out of the way if we were to consider for a minute or two where we all were forty years ago. Some were not born ; some perhaps were receiving occasionally practical demonstration that the old rule, spare the rod and spoil the child, was more firmly believed in than in these squeamish days. Some, perhaps, were first entering on the battle of life ; some few, perhaps, were actively engaged in it ; but probably a large number, possibly the majority of those present, were, like myself, in the shortest of short petticoats. Forty years ago is not a very long time to talk of ; it is not a very long time to look back upon to those able to do so ; but at the same time it is a very large slice out of a man's life ; it is a period within which enormous changes have taken place in the views not only of England, but of the whole civilised globe, and it is a period in respect to which there are a large number of living persons—probably many now present—who can carry their memories back to that time, and say, I can remember forty years ago. Gentlemen, I cannot, and therefore I have had to turn to some of these musty old blue-books, and rout up some figures. I must trouble you with some statistics ; I have condensed them as much as I can, for I know statistics are always dry, and they are as objectionable to most persons as dry champagne is to Mr. Disraeli. However, I must use these figures. I

will go through them as rapidly as I can, but I shall ask your attention more particularly to the figures which I shall come to at the conclusion—figures that will be so large in themselves as probably to surprise many of you who may have paid some attention to statistical matters. Six figures are not enough, nor are seven, eight, or even nine; but I shall have, in reference to one or two matters, to use no less than ten figures. Before commencing the figures, I may mention that I have found it utterly impossible to deal with the whole matters bearing on this question in the manner I should wish to do, and I have therefore had to confine myself entirely to the commercial aspect of the question; to show what the commercial position of the Colonies was forty years ago, and what it is at the present time—or to be more strictly accurate, some two or three years ago, the date of the last statistics. At the conclusion of the paper I have to read, I shall use a sentence or perhaps two that are not original, but were written several years ago by an old English country gentleman. I mention this because, perhaps, it may recur to your memory long after all other recollections of this evening have passed away, and you will probably pay more attention to them when you know the source from whence they came, than if you thought they had been introduced by me solely for the sake of a temporary effect.

In 1880, England had the following Colonies, 84 in number. I quote from Porter's Tables, and he was statistician to the Board of Trade of that date:—Canada (Lower), Canada (Upper), New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Antigua, Barbadoes, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Tortola, Trinidad, Bahamas, Bermuda, Demarara and Essequibo, Berbice, Honduras, Mauritius, Ceylon, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Gibraltar, Malta, Ionian Islands, Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, Gambia.

In the Colonial Office List of 1875, the Colonies appear as follows:—

AMERICAN.—Dominion of Canada, comprising the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the separate governments, Newfoundland, Bermuda, and Falkland Islands.

WEST INDIES.—Jamaica, British Honduras, Turks and Caicos Island, Guiana, Bahamas, Trinidad, the Windward Islands, comprising Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St. Lucia; the Leeward Islands, comprising Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, Virgin Islands, and Dominica.

AFRICAN AND MEDITERRANEAN.—Gibraltar, Malta, West African Settlements, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast, Lagos, Cape of Good Hope, Griqualand, West Natal, St. Helena, and Heligoland.

EASTERN.—Ceylon, Hong Kong, Labuan, Mauritius, Straits Settlements, Singapore, Penang, Malacca.

AUSTRALASIAN.—New South Wales and Norfolk Island, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia and New Zealand, also Fiji. These arranged, as nearly as may be, according to the governments presiding over them, and regarding the Dominion of Canada as one only, constitute forty-seven Colonies, whilst if counted on the basis of the list of Colonies for 1835, they are fifty-three in number. In the latter list, however, are included the following, which were in existence in 1835, though not included in Porter's Tables :—Heligoland, Singapore, Penang, Malacca, and Western Australia. If we do not consider an extension of territory, as in the case of the Dominion of Canada, as constituting a new Colony, but only those presided over by an officer not inferior in rank to a lieutenant-governor, then we have the following as new Colonies since 1835: Gold Coast, Griqualand West, Natal, Hong Kong, Labuan, Falkland Islands, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji—eleven in number. There are also the New Canadian provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia. The statistics for 1835 are not very complete, and I have not been able to obtain a complete set of statistics for 1874; consequently I take almost entirely those for 1878: this circumstance will, however, leave a large margin for any error in the totals that I may give as showing the progress made in forty years. Still following out the system of grouping the Colonies adopted in the Colonial Office List, and adapting as well as I can the statistics of 1835 to it, we have the following results: The American group, comprising Lower Canada, Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island, imported in 1835 goods to the value of £2,742,925. Newfoundland imported £576,796, and Bermuda, £100,783, making a total of £3,420,504. The West Indies, including Jamaica, British Honduras, Turks and Caicos Islands (formerly part of Bahamas), British Guiana (formerly Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice), Bahamas and Trinidad, imported £3,171,359. The Windward Islands, including Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and St. Lucia, £860,228. The Leeward Islands, comprising Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, Virgin Islands (formerly Tortola), and Dominica, £422,879. African and Mediterranean—Gibraltar not given—Ionian Islands and Malta, £1,200,796. West African Settlements, then Sierra

Leone and Gambia, £156,286; St. Helena (in 1836), £40,852; and the Cape of Good Hope, £534,189; the Eastern Colonies, including Ceylon and Mauritius (the only returns), £695,794; and the Australian Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, £1,256,100, making a total of imports in 1835 of £11,758,437. Adopting the same plan in respect to the exports, we have exports for 1835, Lower Canada, Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island, £1,969,672; Newfoundland, £737,022; and Bermuda, £21,853, making a total of £2,728,047. The West Indies exported £5,844,968; the Windward Islands, £1,294,358; the Leeward Islands, £478,663; African and Mediterranean—Ionian Islands and Malta, £786,095; West African Settlements, £140,006; Cape of Good Hope, £362,280; the Eastern Colonies, £857,913; and the Australian Colonies, £837,618, making a total of exports of £12,829,948. The American group employed 2,146,866 tons of shipping; Newfoundland, 205,103 tons; and Bermuda, 30,345 tons. The West Indian Colonies, including both the Windward and Leeward Islands, 1,253,886 tons; the Mediterranean, 1,302,274 tons; West African, 69,932 tons; St. Helena, inwards only (for 1836), 256,084 tons; Cape of Good Hope, 265,837 tons; Eastern Colonies, Ceylon and Mauritius, 283,422 tons; and the Australian Colonies, 247,376 tons, making a total of shipping employed in the Colonial trade in 1835, 6,061,125 tons. The above figures are as accurate as I can make them, though I have in two or three instances had to take the returns for 1836 instead of those for 1835.

We have now the following results: In 1835 our Colonies imported to the value of £11,758,437, exported to the value of £12,829,948, and employed in that trade 6,061,125 tons of shipping; whilst it appears from another return that the tonnage of the ships that entered and cleared from ports in the United Kingdom in the trade with the British Colonies and Dependencies in 1835 was 2,353,282 tons, out of a total shipping trade of the United Kingdom with the whole world for that year of 6,634,935 tons. This is as condensed a view as I can present of the commercial position of the Colonies in 1835. I cannot obtain returns of the population of the whole of the Colonies at that time, and do not attempt an estimate. In the last forty years great changes have taken place. It is but little more than forty years ago that Charles Sturt and George Macleay, with one or two companions, discovered the River Murray, which discovery led to the formation of the Colony of South Australia. It is just forty years ago that a number of gentlemen were engaged in London in arranging

for the foundation of that Colony. Although I cannot go into all the particulars, I may mention one of them, to show the progress of the Colony. South Australia had during 1874 no less than 204,000 tons of surplus bread-stuffs available for exportation. I daresay some of you remember that Sir George Bowen, on the occasion of a dinner given to him, stated that when he went to Queensland he found there was only 7½d. in the Treasury chest. That was not a very large capital to start in business with; but it is larger than South Australia had at one time, for it is only about thirty-six or thirty-seven years ago that South Australia was uncommonly hard up. The salaries had not been paid for a considerable period of time, although the Colonial Treasurer of that date had advanced considerable sums of his own money to pay them. The report was circulated that the Colonial Treasurer was using the public moneys for his own benefit; the salaries were unpaid, the Government officers could buy nothing, and could do nothing. Human nature could not stand it, and an extraordinary event took place: the Crown Solicitor held the Colonial Treasurer while the Colonial Secretary pitched into him, and tried to take from him the keys of the Treasury chest. When the Colonial Treasurer was consoled with and complimented on the pluck he had exhibited in protecting the key, he coolly said it would not have mattered much if they had got it, for there was only 2½d. in the Treasury chest! So you see that when Sir George Bowen commenced in Queensland with a capital of 7½d., he had exactly three times the amount of capital South Australia had at the time I speak of. Yet South Australia can give just as good an account of its progress, if I had time to go into details, as Sir George Bowen or anyone else can give of Queensland. It is little more than forty years ago that Port Philip Bay was declared to be a place unfit for settlement. It is just forty years ago that Batman first camped on the site of the present city of Melbourne. Some alterations have taken place in the last forty years, as may be illustrated by the case of the city of Melbourne. That city at the present time has a population, with its suburbs, of over 260,000 persons, and it is so well provided with everything, that Charles Matthews, when he went to the Colonies some years ago, said he had been advised not to go to Melbourne, as he would find his audience composed of nothing but diggers, bushrangers, and kangaroos; but instead of that, he found a city in which he could obtain everything he could obtain in London, except a good thick November fog. The province of Victoria now counted its revenues by millions, and its commerce by more than millions. All this has been done in less than forty years. It is

less than twenty-five years ago that Victoria was separated from New South Wales. It is only about thirty-six years ago that some gentlemen in England arranged for the first colonisation of New Zealand. And I think you have recently had before you prominently the enormous success that has attended the settlement of New Zealand—the number of persons that have gone there, the vast revenue that they have, and the large trade that they do. It is within the memory of all present that the Dominion of Canada has been formed with new territories attached to it; that Queensland has been separated from New South Wales; and that new settlements have been added in South Africa. Perhaps it may not be out of place if I direct your attention — probably it has been already directed—to a grand proposal that has recently been made by Lord Carnarvon. It is nothing more nor less than to unite in one Federal union, and as a matter of course under one Federal Government, the present English states and Dutch republics in South Africa. I do not wish to touch on politics, but I apprehend that the meaning of that is, that the Portuguese settlements—in respect of which there has recently been some arbitration going on—are proposed to be included in the Federation, even if it should require a small amount of purchase. This is a matter which undoubtedly will come before this Institute again at no very distant date—the formation of the whole of South Africa into one great Federal union; because you must remember that the British territories at the present time in South Africa are not confined to the extreme point of the peninsula in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, they extend a very long distance to the north, and probably such a Federation, if carried out, would extend nearly to the equator. I think I am not transgressing the rule against introducing political questions if I say that if Lord Carnarvon succeeds in the object he has in view, as set forth in the despatches he has published, he will have the thanks of all Englishmen who wish to maintain the supremacy of their country in every part of the world; and I wish to say, as far as my experience of dealing with Colonial matters goes, I can see no reason whatever why the proposal he has made should not be successful. Difficulties have been alluded to by Lord Carnarvon, but I believe they will vanish into thin air. Some difficulties may arise that he has not alluded to, and has not contemplated; but it is astonishing how difficulties vanish when a man is determined to succeed, and it is still more astonishing how difficulties will vanish when the man who is at the helm has the power of giving effect to his determination. Lord Carnarvon is in that position at the present time, and if he goes through with the

matter as he has begun I believe he will succeed in making in South Africa a Federation of States that will rank not only with the Dominion of Canada, not only with the great Colonies of Australia, but in process of time will take its place as the equal at least of many of the European nations. The changes on the West Coast of Africa and the annexation of Fiji are events as of yesterday. The circumstances connected with Fiji may have been noticed, and the great mortality arising from measles; but I think it will be found on examination that there is a great mistake in the telegram. We will hope that the annexation of New Guinea will be effected at no distant day. I cannot attempt on this occasion to point out all the changes that have taken place in our Colonies: my purpose is to show in a general, though at the same time fairly accurate manner, what our Colonies were forty years ago and what they are now. I now give the later statistics of our Colonies, arranged in a similar manner to those given for 1835. These figures are from the published papers for 1872, which in some cases relate to a year, 1872-3, and from the Colonial Office List of 1875, and are the latest that I can obtain in a complete set.

The American Group:—the Dominion of Canada imported £26,488,597; Newfoundland, £1,399,181; Bermuda, £267,497; and Falkland Islands, £24,441, making a total of £28,179,716. The West Indies imported £5,308,375; the Windward Islands, £1,504,572; the Leeward Islands, £471,238. African and Mediterranean:—Malta, £8,705,985. West African, including Lagos, £864,280; St. Helena, £91,498; Cape of Good Hope and Natal, £5,955,817. The Eastern Colonies, including Ceylon and Mauritius, £19,196,292. The Australian Colonies, £42,979,357, and Fiji, £87,653; making a total of imports of £118,839,283. The American group exported—Canada, £18,551,501; Newfoundland, £1,631,086; Bermuda, £64,887; and Falkland Islands, £40,886, making a total of £20,287,860. The West Indies exported £5,577,364; the Windward Islands, £1,569,558; the Leeward Islands, £539,053; Malta, £8,010,187; West African and Lagos, £982,915; St. Helena, £42,572; Cape of Good Hope and Natal, £4,530,708; the Eastern Colonies, including Ceylon and Mauritius, £29,970,898; the Australian Colonies, £41,929,268; and Fiji, £84,802; making a total of exports of £118,525,185. The Colonies in 1872 employed shipping, exclusive of the coasting trade, as follows:—Canada, 6,493,704 tons; Newfoundland, 849,828 tons; Bermuda, 153,991 tons, and the Falkland Islands, 56,066 tons; making a total of 7,053,589 tons. The West Indies, including the Windward and Leeward Islands, 2,813,756 tons;

Gibraltar and Malta, 8,212,986 tons; West African Settlements, 564,008 tons; St. Helena, 171,774 tons; Cape of Good Hope and Natal, 548,722 tons; the Eastern Colonies, including Ceylon and Mauritius, 8,558,048 tons; and the Australian Colonies, 4,517,028 tons; making a total of shipping employed in 1872 of 82,484,906 tons: and this, it must be remembered, is the tonnage of vessels entered and cleared, exclusive of the coasting trade.

We are now in a position to make the following comparison: The imports of our Colonies in 1835 amounted to £11,758,437; in 1872-3 they increased to £118,339,283. The exports in 1835 were £12,829,948; and in 1872-3 they had increased to £118,525,185; thus a total trade of £24,588,385 in 1835 had increased to £226,864,468 in 1872-3, an increase of nearly two hundred millions sterling; whilst the shipping employed had increased from 6,061,125 tons in 1835 to 82,484,906 tons in 1872, out of which no less than 24,484,177 tons were British ships. A similar rate of increase in the commerce of the Colonies in the next thirty-seven years will raise it to more than £2,260,000,000, or more than two and a quarter times the commerce of the United Kingdom with the whole of the world at the present time; and it will be observed that the shipping trade of the Colonies (exclusive of the coasting trade) is now more than four and a half times the amount of the shipping trade of the United Kingdom with the whole world in 1835. Referring to the trade of India, I find that in 1872 India imported £42,657,560, and exported £64,661,940, making a total trade of £107,319,500, employing 4,645,997 tons of shipping; so that India, with its population of more than 190,000,000 had a trade of only £107,319,500, about 11s. a head of the population; whilst Australia, with a population of only 2,250,000 had a trade of £67,993,248, or more than £28 per head of the population. These figures show how money fructifies when it is in the hands of the many, as in Australia, compared to what it does when it is in the hands of the few, as in India.

Turning to the exports and imports of 1874, we find that the total trade of the United Kingdom with British Possessions was £158,774,000, of which amount £66,378,000 is said to have been with the East Indies, in which it appears that Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements are included, leaving £92,396,000 as the trade of the United Kingdom with the other British Possessions in the year 1874, being about £9 per head of the population of those Possessions. A few words as to the money cost of the Colonies to England. The following is an extract from a speech of Sir George Campbell at a former meeting of this Institute: "It was not right that the labouring men of this country should be

taxed for the benefit of the Colonies. (Voices : They are not taxed.) It seemed to him that they were taxed in many respects." Of course anyone would suppose that Sir George Campbell, an old Government official, and thoroughly knowing the value of statistics, could give, and would have given, some figures or facts in support of such a statement, but he has not done so. The fact is, he has disappeared. He has got into Parliament, and that is a place where injudicious speakers speedily find their level—not always a high one. I find, on referring to a recently-issued Parliamentary return, that the total cost to England of all the Colonies was in 1872-3 £1,817,471, out of which those classed as military and maritime (that is naval) stations cost £1,271,904. The West Coast of Africa cost £66,100, and Imperial prisoners in Western Australia cost £43,078 ; deducting which three items there remains £545,567 as the total cost to England of all her other Colonies, plantations, and settlements, and in this last-named sum is included a very considerable naval and military expenditure incurred by England for Imperial and not for local purposes. But even if it should be said that the whole sum of £1,817,471 is to be regarded as expenditure on account of the Colonies, it is amply, and more than amply, repaid to England by her trade of more than 92 millions sterling with those Colonies, a Colonial commerce of more than 226 millions sterling, and the protection afforded to more than 24 million tons of British shipping employed in that trade.

I have now got over all the dry part, but I wish to add a few words by way of postscript. I have shown you what the Colonies were in 1835 ; I have shown you by figures what the Colonies are in 1872-3, nearly thirty-eight years after, or we may roughly call it forty years. I ask you to remember, and it is important to remember, when you are considering the Colonial question, that the Colonies are scattered in every part of the globe. You may go to the extreme frozen zone at the north, you may go through the temperate zone, through the tropics, through the southern temperate zone, to the frozen zone in the south, and you will find British Colonies in every quarter. There is nothing you want that they cannot supply you with. If it is merely the gaudy plumage of the birds of the air, you can get those ; if it is the warm furs of the beast of the field, you can get those ; if it is gold or silver or precious stones, you can get those ; if it is iron, copper, tin, lead, or any of the other baser but more useful metals, your Colonies can supply them. If it is meat you want, your Colonies can supply you with that ; and although I will not venture to say for a moment that a tin of Australian mutton is equal to a good Southdown

saddle, yet it is good wholesome food. Everything that you want your Colonies can supply you with. Wine is grown, a great deal of it of the most excellent quality, although some of it, I must say, I should not like to drink. Everything England requires can be and is produced by the Colonies, and it is a most important matter to remember a fact which is well known, that England requires more than two-fifths of the whole necessary food of her people to be imported from abroad. And it is a matter, I submit, well worthy of consideration, that your Colonies can supply you with the whole of what you require if you are prepared to pay for it, and that it is only a question of price.

I must not detain you further, but I would express a hope that I have succeeded in the main object I had in view when I began, viz. to show that our Colonies are worth having, and are worth keeping. I point to a territory of more than seven millions of square miles in area, with a population of some eleven millions, and room, ample room, for twenty times eleven millions more. I point to the thousands of miles of railway that have been constructed, to the tens of thousands of miles of telegraphs, and to thousand of miles of common roads. I point to the large accommodation that has been provided for shipping, to the great docks, harbours, wharves, and breakwaters that have been built. I point to the bridges and other great works that have been constructed, some of them amongst the most stupendous monuments of modern engineering science. I point to scores of lighthouses that have been built for the accommodation of shipping. I point to the great cities that have sprung up, cities replete with every article that is required either by modern luxury or refinement. I point to the thousands of churches and other places of worship that have been built, most of them by the free offerings of a free people; and I may here remind you that the Church of England in the Colonies is presided over by no less than fifty bishops, and that there are nine missionary bishops. I point to the thousands of schools for the education of the young, and institutions for the diffusion of useful knowledge amongst all ages. I point to the two millions of horses, to the many millions of horned cattle, and the tens of millions of sheep. I point to the millions of acres of land that have been brought under cultivation, and to the homesteads, the happy homesteads, of the owners of those broad acres. I point to a commerce of more than £226,000,000 sterling; and I say to the people of England, that is the splendid Empire, that is the more than princely, the more than kingly, heritage that your Colonists have made for you. And when I remind you that these matters which

I have brought before you are not mere flights of imagination, or figures of speech, but are hard, indisputable matters of fact; when I remind you that all this has been achieved by the indomitable enterprise, energy, and perseverance of a small number of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the greater part of it during a period that is little more than the time usually allotted to one generation of men—then I submit to you, my Lord Duke, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have established a right, an unchallengeable right, to say that when you look upon forty years ago and now, every true Englishman must feel—every true man, in his heart of hearts, must feel—that the Colonists may well rejoice at their success, and England feel proud of her sons.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. HALIBURTON felt some hesitation in rising to offer any remarks on a paper so full of figures, and dealing with a subject so important and at the same time so difficult, but it was one to which his attention had been directed for many years. The growth of the Colonies was something which Englishmen had hitherto been quite unconscious of, for very few were at all aware of the vast Empire which was about being built up by the sons of Britain; and he felt, as he had urged two years ago at Greenwich, that the Government of this country, looking as they should have done at the rapid increase of the Colonial Empire, and at the value of Colonial consumers, had been committing almost a crime against this kingdom in allowing emigrants to go abroad. There was an old writ called *Ne exeat Regno*; and perhaps he might suggest that a somewhat similar writ should be devised to prevent Englishmen going abroad, and not only becoming enemies of their mother country, but also ceasing to be consumers of English manufactures. Every man who left the country was worth so many pounds, and his children after him were worth more. He believed it was calculated in the United States that every emigrant was worth £200; but even if it was only 200 dollars, and it was calculated what England had lost by allowing her bone and sinew to go to the United States and to other countries, it would be found that the loss to the Empire was millions and millions. It had been shown that evening that every man who went to Australia was worth so many pounds as a consumer, while the value to us of the emigrant to the United States could be counted in shillings. If a calculation were made of the number of our population who had drifted away to foreign countries, it would be found that there was an annual loss to the manufacturers and people of this country of millions.

Mr. LABILLIÈRE said the record of the Colonies, and what had happened in them only a few years ago, was almost like a story of the days of Columbus or of the Pilgrim Fathers, so wonderful has been the progress since achieved. Allusion had been made to the foundation of the Colony of Port Philip, and those who were acquainted with the history of that settlement would remember the prediction, so remarkable for its non-fulfilment, made by a member of the expedition which abandoned the place in 1804, that the territory had once more been handed over to the kangaroo and the emu, which were destined for ages to remain the undisputed lords of the soil. Mr. Strangways had told them of the city of Melbourne, which now existed within forty miles of the place where that prediction was uttered, and the population of which numbered upwards of two hundred thousand. Some years later, in 1817, when Mr. Oxley, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, made his celebrated expedition, he wrote that the whole of the territory south of the degree of latitude which he reached was utterly unfit for the habitation of civilised man ; but since then the whole of the Colony of Victoria, a considerable portion of New South Wales, and the most important part of South Australia, had been formed within the area which was thus condemned. His own recollection of Melbourne, where he had been born a very few years after its foundation, went back to a time when little boys used to ride the goats which browsed on the grass which grew in the principal streets. He distinctly remembered the suburb of St. Kilda, which now contained several thousand inhabitants, when it consisted of some half-dozen houses amongst the gum-trees which bordered an ordinary bush road. He remembered when Ballarat, now an important city, consisted of about fifty tents, and when there was not a brick or stone laid in the place. He could only speak of one portion of the Colonial Empire, but there were gentlemen present from all parts of it, and they could bear similar testimony. The present enormous value of the Colonial trade had been stated, and in the face of such facts he should like to know what could be said by those "economists" who asserted that the Colonies were a burden on the English tax-payers. He should like to know how much of the Imperial revenue was derived from Colonial trade, and if that were put on one side, and the small amount which the Colonies might still cost the mother country on the other, it would be found that there was a handsome surplus in favour of the Colonies. In the face of such facts and figures, to talk of the burden on British tax-payers was simply ridiculous ; and how men having any pretension to intelligence could use such language, was beyond his comprehension.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG said the picture which had been brought forward of the wonderful advance made by the Colonies during the last forty years was simply astounding, and it was impossible for any Englishman, be he either a resident in the old country or a denizen of one of these grand Colonies, not to feel as much pride as astonishment at this advance. He had been much struck with the fact that this enormous progress had been made under the eyes of Englishmen without their apparently being conscious of it. This was certainly very remarkable. He was an old disciple of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who said, in one of his writings, that the emigration of a Hampshire peasant most likely enabled a Yorkshire artisan to live; and that was the great principle underlying all they had heard that evening. The fact was, that everyone who emigrated to a British Colony rather than to a foreign country, enriched not only himself but the country from which he went. The facts brought forward by Mr. Strangways showed incontestibly how absurd and erroneous were those views which were occasionally enunciated, that the Colonies were a burden to this country; and although such opinions were now heard but rarely, still they had been used so frequently, and until recent times in such high places, that they could not be too frequently refuted whenever the opportunity occurred. It was very naturally asked how it could have got into the heads of any intelligent men to contend that the comparatively insignificant cost, if cost it were, to the mother country of any of her Colonies was not compensated over and over again by the immense advantages which she derived from them. It was a well-known truism that the trade followed the flag. It was shown what an immense difference it made to the mother country whether her emigrants went to her Colonies or to a foreign country; and the extraordinary extent of the trade which they caused to be developed by going to them must render the Colonies, therefore, of the greatest possible value and importance. He rejoiced that this great question had been brought so forcibly under their notice, and could not but think that the paper would be of great value in bringing these facts still more prominently before the British public.

Mr. ABRAHAM said as Mr. Strangways enumerated the various reasons which had induced him to select forty years ago as the period of his comparison, he fully expected that the fact of the year 1837 being the date of the accession of Her Gracious Majesty to the sovereignty of this great Empire would have been mentioned. It was certainly remarkable that almost the whole of the wonderful progress which had been depicted had occurred

under the beneficent influence of Queen Victoria's reign ; and in what a very striking light did all these important events appear when viewed in this connection. He recollected a speech of Edmund Burke, in the course of which he reminded one who then heard him, Lord Bathurst, that he could recollect when America was a little speck, a mere seminal principle, but which had become during his lifetime the great country and nation which then existed. Might it not now be said with truth that what it had taken centuries to accomplish for England itself, had been almost completely effected not merely during a single life, but during a single reign, for those Colonies which now formed so important a part of Her Majesty's Empire ? A very interesting question thus arose,—how it was that these immense results had been brought about within the last forty years, whilst so little was done previously, or even during the earlier years of the century ? He thought many reasons might be mentioned which would account for this. In the first place, it was manifest that progress had been at the bottom of it all, and he thought, therefore, that he might fairly claim all the Fellows of the Colonial Institute as sincere advocates of “progress,” anxious to remove all obstacles which impeded further onward improvement. Many of the obstacles which existed just before 1837 had been removed. The slave trade and Colonial slavery had just been entirely abolished, whilst the labours of the great philanthropist, Howard, had effected great reforms in prison discipline. Then there was the thorough alteration in the mode of dealing with Colonial lands, effected in 1831 under the auspices of Lord Ripon. Up to that date they had been given away by free grants to favourites of the Crown or Ministers, or by grants to employers of convict labour at nominal quit-rents, and it was immediately after these grants were abolished, and sales of the land introduced, thus introducing free labour, that the Colonies began to progress. A remarkable instance of the stagnant condition which the free grant system produced was the case of Western Australia, one of the earliest-founded Colonies. Chiefly owing to the free grant system it remained almost at a standstill, a large portion of the available lands being in the hands of large holders, who had neither labour nor capital to cultivate them. But another, and the greatest, difficulty in the way of colonisation, was the disgraceful system of transportation, which was not thoroughly abolished until 1852, after which date the progress of the Australian Colonies had been fifty times as great as during any previous period. Besides all this, there had been the repeal of the navigation laws and the important operation of the right of British subjects to go and settle

on wild and unoccupied lands, and also to purchase and settle on lands belonging to natives with their consent, subject to the difficulty of enforcing order and good government, and to the right of the Government to come in afterwards in order to regulate matters, and punish, if need be, all illegal acts. Before that time the old feudal notion was acted upon, that nobody could acquire a right to waste lands except by direct grant from the Crown ; and in Victoria, when enterprising settlers from Tasmania began to acquire land from the natives, the then governor of New South Wales refused to permit it, and threatened to send troops down if they did not desist from settling. They, however, persisted, and the result had been the fine Colony of Victoria. It was the same when the New Zealand Company endeavoured by legitimate means to get a footing in New Zealand. The Government interposed in every possible way in order to stop colonisation, and at last it was only in defiance of the British authorities that the settlement of Wellington was founded, and the Government coerced into adopting that country as a Colony. He would leave it to other members then present, whose experience in the past history of the Colonies was great, to supplement the few instances he had thus given of the causes which operated to bring about this marvellous Colonial progress.

Mr. W. MUSGRAVE SHERIFF, Attorney-General of Grenada, said a great deal had been said about Australia and New Zealand, and facts and figures had been given showing that these Colonies were prosperous in the extreme. He wished he could say the same for all Colonies under the British crown, but there were others not so fortunate. He represented an island in the West Indies ; but a spot in the sea, nevertheless it was settled by English people, by sons of Great Britain, who yielded to none in allegiance to the Crown and love to the mother country. Forty-one years ago saw the abolition of the slave trade in the West Indies, and that was really the date from which they had to trace their unfortunate position, for the loss of labour was their principal grievance. The slave trade was abolished, and the result was, slave-grown sugar was admitted into the British market on the same footing as that grown by labour which had to be paid for, and statistics showed that a much less quantity of sugar was now made than formerly, when there was considerably less population. No doubt there were gentlemen present representing the other West Indian Islands, some of which were much larger, and he hoped they would add their testimony to his own. They were simply gems of the sea as far as scenery and fertility of the soil ; in loyalty and peaceableness of the inhabitants they yielded to none ; and he ventured to

think there was a day coming when the West Indies would yet retrieve some of the prestige which formerly belonged to them. Sugar was not the only staple to which they were adapted. They also produced cocoa, spices, and other things; and there could be no doubt, from the great activity which had been developed in the islands with which he was acquainted, that the day would come when the West Indies would share with these great Colonies the prosperity of the British Empire.

Mr. RUSSELL, Government Astronomer, Sydney, said he could not speak much with regard to commerce, but would offer a few general observations about the Colony which was his birthplace. In the early days of New South Wales, education was the great want, for a class of emigrants had been sent out who had received very little education, and who did not seek it either for themselves or their children, and there had consequently been considerable difficulty in the matter; but now they had developed a system of public school education by which every person might obtain a first-class business education for his child entirely without cost, if he chose to say he could not afford to pay for it, or at the rate of one shilling per week if he could pay, and that system had led up to the higher schools and to the university. It was found that the most successful pupils at the Civil Service examinations came from the public schools, and they were most successful in business; indeed, in every respect the system worked most satisfactorily. About twenty years ago they established a university, in which, whilst Latin and Greek were not forgotten, they endeavoured to cultivate a knowledge of the physical sciences, which would help to develop as far as possible the natural resources of the Colony. Of all the Colonies belonging to the Crown, New South Wales rejoiced most in her mineral resources. Her great wealth at present was wool, but there was no mineral useful to mankind—gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, nickel, or anything of real use—which was not there in almost unlimited stores. Coal, also, of which some persons seemed to fear they had but a limited stock in the old country, was there in immense quantities. There were thousands of square miles of coal-bearing country, on which many seams of coal had already been found at a very short distance from the surface. One seam was some thirty feet in thickness, and the majority were from four to six feet thick. Several of them cropped out on the sides of the hills, and splendid coal could be obtained without any sinking. In the manufacture of metals they had not succeeded very well, owing to want of English experience, and perhaps of some English capital, although at the present time there was a large amount

lying idle in the Colony. They had attempted to make iron without very great success, though very pure ore was found on the surface in abundance. With copper they got on very well, and fortunately tin, silver, and gold requires very little more than digging to fit it for the market. To indicate in some practical way the extent to which the Colony was developing, he might mention that great numbers of persons from some of the other Colonies were coming across the border to New South Wales, finding they possessed more advantages there, and better chances of success. During the year ending 30th December, 1874, the Government of New South Wales sold upwards of two million acres of land, and yet the sale had not been at all equal to the demand; in fact, they could not get the land surveyed fast enough, and one of their greatest difficulties had been to find surveyors. There is a laudable rivalry amongst the Colonies of Australia, but New South Wales, from her commanding position with regard to the Pacific, her fine harbour, her mineral resources, and her unlimited coal, would, he thought, at no distant date become the leading Colony. It was the oldest, and though many things had hindered its early progress, and one of its offshoots had outgrown it considerably, he thought ere long it would become the most populous, as it now was the most prosperous, of the Colonies.

Dr. BUCHANAN, New Zealand, had but one remark to make on the subject under discussion. He thought it was a matter for congratulation, as regards both England and her Colonies, that at present a thoroughly good understanding exists between them. Each appreciates the value of the connexion. Such, unhappily, was not the case some eight or ten years ago, when he was living as a Colonist in New Zealand, and when every despatch which arrived there from the Colonial Office, whether Whig or Tory was in power, whether those despatches were clothed in the polished sentences of Earl Granville, or consisted of the curt utterances of the Duke of Buckingham, the burden of the song addressed to New Zealand was ever the same: "You have given us a great deal of trouble, you have cost us a great deal of money, and you may cut the painter as soon as you please." And this intimation was conveyed in language which to us Colonists, with our intense loyalty and our yearning for the love of the mother country, appeared at times to be studiously insulting. At that time, the Manchester school ruled the destinies of Great Britain. The gospel of that school is "to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest." Its motto is, "The value of a thing is what it will bring," and its religion is to fall down and worship the almighty dollar. *That is the whole duty of*

man according to those politicians—to count as nothing honour, glory, patriotism, to fling to the winds the prestige of old times, and to regard as precious only that which will produce a return in pounds, shillings, and pence. We Colonists, I say, were at first grieved. We became alarmed and indignant. We remonstrated. Our cause was taken up in this country by able, far-seeing, and influential men, who, by degrees, brought such a pressure from public opinion to bear on the Government of the day, that they were compelled to reverse their policy, and to cultivate cordial relations with us. Since then, to cultivate cordial relations with the Colonies has been a part of the creed of both political parties, and no Government, whether Whig or Tory, could now hold office for six months if it attempted to adopt a different course. It appeared to him, therefore, that this happy change, like a cordial reconciliation between a mother and her daughters, is matter for sincere congratulation to all who have at heart the prosperity of the Empire as a whole.

Mr. T. B. H. BERKLEY, M.L.A., St. Kitts, stated that he had not the privilege of hearing the lecture, as he had not been able to get to the meeting in time. The general tone of the subsequent discussion seemed to be of congratulation on the progress that had been made in the Colonies during the last forty years, with the exception of one speaker, whom he had not the honour of knowing, but who evidently came from the same part of the Colonies as himself, namely, the West Indies. The West Indies were second to none in loyalty to the Crown, though they had no doubt suffered a great deal from misgovernment. There were several reasons why the West Indies had not participated in the improvement that had been talked of in the Colonies during the last forty or fifty years. Those who had visited Jamaica could well bear out this statement. Jamaica was an island of great fertility of soil and of immense natural advantages, though it was lamentable to look at its present condition. Those who had travelled in the country would pass by magnificent works dismantled and ruined. Proprietors were heard of whose fortunes were those of noblemen, and merchants who lived like princes, and who were now entirely ruined. A great deal of this was to be attributed, no doubt, to the mistaken way in which slavery was abolished. Not that he upheld slavery, but that he considered the sudden way in which it was abolished was one of the causes of their retrogression, as they were deprived of the means of labour to their plantations. For Barbados, although one of the least in advantages (it might almost be said that it had the least natural soil), was one of the most flourishing Islands, because it had abund-

ance of labour. He hoped the Colonial Institute would not look down on the West Indies, or think them beneath notice. Something had been said of Federation. He hoped that it would be a success, though he thought it very questionable, because he could not see any material benefit to be obtained from it. When he last had the pleasure of attending the Institute, he heard a very able speech from Sir Bartle Frere on the subject, and if they could get a Colonial Council in England to attend to Colonial affairs, he thought this would be more desirable than any system of Federation. The local Councils were simply adapted to deal with local affairs, and they might just as well talk of federating in this country London and York, Manchester or Liverpool. The local Councils did not want to deal with any great scheme of legislation. They would rather leave that to the mother country, and he thought that everything might be accomplished by having a Colonial Council in London.

Mr. S. CONSTANTINE BURKE, F.R.G.S. (Assistant Attorney-General for Jamaica), felt much indebted to Mr. Strangways for the valuable statistics he had brought forward, which showed the rapid strides the Colonies had made during forty years. They also showed that while the Colonies had made immense progress, Great Britain had also benefited to an immense extent both in her commerce and manufactures. But for this great progress in the Colonies, there would not have been such a vast development of the trade of the British Empire, because there would not have been the large market or outlet for her manufactures. The trade had followed the flag, industry was stimulated, ships sailed on every sea to supply the Colonial markets, and Great Britain thereby secured a vast field for the extension of her commerce and manufactures. The Colonists were a loyal people, and delighted not only in their own progress, but also in their strong and powerful connection with a great Empire. Allusions had been made to the West Indies and its former prosperity. He was a native of Jamaica, and naturally took great interest in the West Indian Colonies. Jamaica is the largest, one of the most ancient, and in days gone by was considered the most valuable, of the British West Indies. The West Indian Colonies could not show as great progress as had been made in Canada and the Australian dependencies, nor was Jamaica in the state of prosperity it was seventy years ago, when his Grace's grandfather was the Governor of that Island. All this lack of progress was attributed to the abolition of slavery, but he could not agree in what had been said on that point by previous speakers. The tide of emigration from Great Britain to America, Canada,

and Australia, whereby great countries have been peopled, had had some effect in retarding the progress of the older West Indian Colonies. Slavery had certainly had its effect on the slave-holders, but it was a base and hateful system, which was repugnant to all feelings of humanity, and which the British people could no longer tolerate. They performed a great and glorious act in the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, and, with a magnanimity unparalleled by any other nation, gave twenty millions for the accomplishment of their purpose. While numerous Colonists—the owners of slaves—had suffered, still they must look to the immense benefit that had been conferred upon humanity by striking off the fetters from millions of slaves, and by abolishing the dreadful system of cruelty and tyranny which slavery involved. It would ever be a glory to the British nation that she was the first to have entirely swept away such a hateful system. If the owners of property suffered, it was a misfortune. On the other hand, there were the millions of slaves who, having attained freedom, by the aid of the civilising influences which religion, education, and the example and influence of good government brought to bear upon them, were developing themselves into a good people, and the day would yet come when England might be proud of the emancipated classes of the British West Indies. To show the cause of failure in some of the West Indian Colonies, one must go to the root of the question, namely, population. Some Colonies are thoroughly peopled, and others had never had their full share of population. While Barbadoes, with 166 square miles, has a population of over 170,000, Jamaica, containing about 6,400 square miles, has but half a million of population. Barbados, with its superabundant population, cultivates every inch of ground, and is able to grow sugar upon rocks by throwing earth upon them ; on the other hand, Jamaica, with thousands of acres of fine land, teeming with fertility, and with a climate on its magnificent mountains suitable for the residence of Europeans, is but partially cultivated, and could give a fair living to ten times its present population. In Barbados great industry is essential to enable the labourers to live, and the production of the soil is kept to its highest pitch. In Jamaica, comparatively little labour supplies the wants of the agricultural population, and the easy acquisition of land for his own cultivation renders the labourer independent to a great extent of plantation employment. It was not natural to expect that these people would work for employers when they could do better for themselves. The problem that had to be worked out in such of the West Indian Colonies as were under-populated was the introduction of Coolie

labourers. Without this accession of population, in a short time it would be a question whether the British West Indian Colonies would be able to produce sufficient sugar to meet the demand of England, and whether they were to cease to be producing Colonies. British Guiana had succeeded in extending production by her large importation of Coolies. He was glad to see that the Government had determined to stand by the Colonists in their efforts to increase their population. With the aid of Coolie immigrants, Jamaica would be able to cultivate her large tract of splendid land now lying waste, increase her production of sugar and coffee, and, he might add, increase also her world-renowned Jamaica rum, the quality of which has never been equalled by any other country. With this accession of population will come a proportion of European population who will go out to the West Indies and cultivate broad fields, which was done in times gone by before Australia and other new Colonies absorbed the great mass of emigrating Englishmen. Mr. Haliburton had said it was a pity that the old English writ of *Ne exeat Regno* was not now enforced to prevent Englishmen leaving the kingdom. He did not know whether he had misunderstood that gentleman, or whether what he had said was intended only as a joke, but he would certainly say that if Englishmen had always been prevented from going abroad, the glorious Colonial Empire of which they had heard so much that night, and of which they were all so proud, would never have come into existence. What was needed was liberty of action, free land, and free trade, and these had proved the mightiest agents in the development of our Colonial Empire.

Sir RICHARD MACDONNELL said he would not take up much time in his observations, after the able paper filled with statistical information, of which he thoroughly knew the value, having contributed much to those tables himself. As, however, he had administered the Government of South Australia at a time when Mr. Strangways took a prominent part in its politics, and showed himself a patriotic and useful citizen in many ways, it might appear ungracious in him not to express the great pleasure with which he met Mr. Strangways now in England, and found him usefully continuing his former labours. He quite appreciated his endeavours to put Colonial questions on a proper footing, and make the English public understand the important position which the Colonies were assuming. He would add one word with regard to the point mentioned by the last speaker, who had evidently somewhat misunderstood Mr. Haliburton. The latter had assumed an anxiety to extend by legislation the writ *Ne exeat Regno* to all those who wished

to emigrate to other places than our own dependencies, and had adduced as an argument that British subjects emigrating to our own Colonies were far more valuable there than in foreign countries, whether looked upon as loyal supporters of the Empire, or merely taking a money view of the question, as increasing our resources by becoming consumers of our produce. There was no doubt if an emigrant settled in Australia or New Zealand he was **something** like five times more valuable as a consumer than if he went to a foreign country. But although he fully recognised the importance of such considerations, and knew that England was pre-eminently a commercial country, which could appreciate such an advantage, he did not for one moment believe we were such a nation of shopkeepers as to take so limited a view of our duties. On the contrary, he thought Englishmen were too proud of their individual liberty of action—a liberty which they had asserted in so many fields and for which their ancestors had so nobly struggled—to adopt any such low standard of public principle. He was quite sure that his friend Mr. Haliburton could not have spoken seriously in suggesting that English people should not be at liberty to go wherever they pleased. If they wished emigrants not to become enemies of the mother country, the best way was to treat them well whilst they were at home. He therefore felt the greater pleasure in thinking of the improved public opinion in reference to our emigrants and our Colonies. The growing sense of the nation of the importance of the subject was most material, because those who emigrated to the Colonies found the feelings of the Government awakened and the national intelligence enlightened as to their interests, in a way it never was “Forty years ago.” “Ships, Colonies, and Commerce” had been a frequent toast in the olden time, but, reverting to the history of the period, it would be found that it meant no shipping should go to the Colonies except British ships, and that the commerce of the Colonies was to be so fettered that they could scarcely trade with any country but England, and on terms dictated by England. In fact, the feeling was that the Colonies were to be treated as the means of advancing English interests solely. How changed was all that now, for he believed the general opinion was that Colonial interests and British interests were so entirely and truly identical, that to promote the one was to promote the other. In his own sphere of duty as Governor of different Colonies, he had always learnt from his instructions and his correspondence with statesmen of every party at home, that the more faithfully he did his duty to the Colony the more faithfully he was considered to discharge it to the Crown. Happily, during the

last forty years, there had been a great change in the temper of Her Majesty's Government on this subject. He had heard a great statesman say, that if the Colonies wished to go, it was only for them to say the word. Such language appeared the more injudicious because Colonists were above all people the most sensitive to observations made at home. They took them to heart in a way which it was extremely difficult for English people to understand, and when such language was used by British statesmen it was not to be wondered at if the feeling engendered was more calculated to separate than to unite our dependencies to the mother country. That, however, was happily altered, and nobody could have done his duty to the Colonies better than the late Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen. He spoke altogether apart from politics, and would add that the Colonial department was now fortunately presided over by a nobleman who proved that the highest mental refinement and courtesy were not incompatible with the largest views of statesmanship and the most energetic administration. He also believed that that Institute had played no small part in bringing about the improved feeling which now existed, and probably no one individual had more efficiently exerted himself to promote that better feeling than his Grace the President of the Institute, whom they were proud to see in their chair that night.

Mr. HALIBURTON said he regretted to find that one of the speakers had misapprehended his allusion to a venerable writ which had been out of date for centuries, and which no one was likely to wish to revive. It was, however, an interesting fact that, on one occasion, when a subject was prevented from going abroad, it cost a king his head. It is alleged that Oliver Cromwell was on board a ship in the Thames which was bound for New England, but was detained by an order in Council. He hoped that future Oliver Cromwells would be allowed to emigrate if they wished to do so, but he trusted that, if they went abroad, they would go to our own Colonies, where their children would become British subjects. He believed it was well worthy of the consideration of British statesmen whether they should not provide ships, if necessary, to carry out emigrants to the Colonies, rather than allow them to find their way to foreign countries. With regard to the West Indies, he was there at the time of the Federation scheme being brought forward by Sir Benjamin Pine, and he heard then that property was rising rapidly in value. He had great hopes, from what he saw and heard, that the West Indies had a great future before them, even though they were compelled to rely on free labour. His own opinion was that the great change which had taken place in the

Southern States of America would materially affect for the better the future of those Islands.

Mr. MONTGOMERIE said although his personal experience of the Island of Trinidad went back to upwards of fifty years, seeing that he was only (to quote Mr. Strangways) in "long clothes" at that time, he could not respond to the appeal of a previous speaker, and give his own personal observations with regard to that Colony. He rather wished to call attention to the moral to be drawn from this paper. Attention had been directed to the past and to the present, but very little had been said with regard to the future. Now he thought the remarkable progress of the last forty years should lead them to consider what the Colonies would be forty, thirty, twenty, or even ten years hence; and although forty years was only a babyhood in the age of nations, still in that time some of them had made such wonderful strides that a proportionate increase would, ere very long, make the combined offshoots of the British Empire as strong, vigorous, and perhaps as influential, as the mother country itself. It was important, therefore, that the statesmen of this country should look ahead, and provide in time some plan for the harmonious co-operation of the several portions constituting the great British Empire; and towards this end it would be the duty of the Royal Colonial Institute to lend all the assistance in its power.

Mr. JACOB MONTEFIORE: I am placed, I may say, in the peculiar position referred to by Mr. Strangways, for I am one who can well recollect forty years ago. I can endorse every word which has been said with regard to South Australia. It was in the year 1835 I remember meeting in a small room (I think it was in the Old Jewry) the late Colonel Torrens, the late Mr. W. A. Mackinnon, Colonel Palmer, and the late Mr. Gouger, when we had a map before us, and we then determined upon planting a Colony in South Australia, in the Gulf of St. Vincent (the point designated). Government, through the influence of the late Duke of Wellington, promised to grant us a large area of land on our raising a certain amount of capital. Great efforts were made to raise the said capital; a considerable amount was raised; we found ourselves in a dilemma, as we could not raise the whole amount required. Mr. George Fife Angus (at the present moment one of the most excellent Colonists) stepped forward, and assisted us with a large sum of money through a company which he formed. In the year 1842, when I visited South Australia, the Colony of Adelaide was in a terrible dilemma, and there were apprehensions if the Colony could go on, but by the indomitable spirit of the South Australians

—and he knew no Colonists who had evinced so much energy, perseverance, and determination—they got over their difficulties. Again, in 1852, they were in the utmost difficulties, owing to the gold discoveries in Victoria, which drew away their inhabitants in shoals. That also they surmounted, and now they produced almost everything that could possibly be required. One gentleman had spoken of New South Wales producing gold, wool, copper, iron, coal, &c. as something wonderful; now South Australia could, and did, produce every similar article except coal (in a small degree only at present, but there were indications of its being produced largely). But in addition it produced wheat, the finest in the world, and in sufficient quantity not only for its own wants, but to supply the neighbouring Colonies and European markets to any extent: the yield in 1874 was 9,862,698 bushels, which enabled them to have 20,400 tons for export; and this year they fully expect that quantity will be increased, from the larger quantity of acres under cultivation. Now with respect to land, which was in the year 1848 at almost a nominal value, and town acres could be purchased at from £200 to £500 per acre, are now worth £2,000 to £5,000 per annum. With regard to shipping. In 1828 a brother of mine went to Sydney, New South Wales, and was seven months on his voyage, and the vessel he went in was 300 to 400 tons burthen; but now the voyage was made in about forty to fifty days, and in vessels of 4,000 to 5,000 tons. They had now established a telegraph from Adelaide to Port Darwin, and they would no doubt construct a line of railway through the centre of Australia and the latter port; and all this had been done without any expense to the mother country, but solely by the capital and energy of the Colonists. I think I have established sufficient to exhibit the difference between forty years since and now.

The PRESIDENT, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Strangways, said he must refer, although it was scarcely necessary, to the improved feeling which now existed in the United Kingdom towards the Colonies. He not only wished to congratulate everyone on the improvement of feeling, but also wished to do that which Sir Richard MacDonnell had partly done, to state that he thought that that Institution had had a great deal to do with the improved feeling of the country, and the more patriotic policy adopted by statesmen. Whilst Mr. Strangways was referring to the number of lighthouses established by the Colonies, it struck him that he had read only that morning in the London papers a report showing that in the province of Quebec alone there were 118 lighthouses, besides lightships and fog-trumpets. The district of Toronto, in

Ontario, had nearly 100 lighthouses, lightships, and other appliances; and during the last year several new ones had been erected in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Labrador, and near Belle Isle. With regard to the enormous progress that had been detailed, it must be remembered that this amount of commerce, which forty years ago was only 26 millions, and now had augmented to 226 millions, was not confined to one solitary community, immediately contiguous to our own shores; it was spread, like the ganglions of nerves, surrounding the whole earth. The other day whilst at the dinner of the Geographical Society, Sir Henry Rawlinson, in alluding to the army and navy, spoke of the great facilities they had for assisting the Geographical Society in giving them information on the subjects in which they were engaged. That set him thinking of how the stations which the British troops formerly occupied seemed to surround the world in all latitudes. At Malta and Gibraltar, along the Mediterranean, down the West Coast of Africa, Ascension, St. Helena, Cape Colony, Natal, Ceylon, India, Aden, Mauritius, Burmah, Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia, and all its Colonies; New Guinea, New Zealand, Fiji, British Columbia, and then across the Continent of America to all those thriving states and grand harbours of Upper and Lower Canada, and the Maritime States, down to the West Indies and the islands of the Atlantic; so that they really, with this growing mercantile and Imperial system, surrounded the world. It was a sentiment of which all Englishmen would be proud, which they were bound in every way to consider, and he was happy to find that the feeling of the country seemed now settled in the direction that they ought to maintain that glorious Empire which promised still greater success than it had yet attained. But these great successes had not been the only effort of the Anglo-Saxon race, for within the same period of forty years many of the American states had been added to the Union, for instance, Missouri,⁹ Mississippi, Minnesota, Wyoming, Texas, Nevada, California, and others; and in California, within ten years less than that time, a city had been built which was greater than Melbourne, and possessed 280,000 or 300,000 inhabitants. The Anglo-Saxon race had therefore not only founded this Empire, to which they were proud to belong, but also another Empire, which he hoped at no very distant date would no longer be a rival.

The vote of thanks having been passed,

Mr. STRANGWAYS, referring to the remarks of Mr. Abraham, said he had not alluded to the accession of the Queen because it did not happen to take place for two years after the period with which he had started. He had carefully avoided instituting any comparison

whatever between any two Colonies, so as not to excite any rivalry, but simply to bring forward the progress of the Colonies as a whole, and leave it to others to develop the details. He might say, however, that the West Indies as a whole had not gone backwards in the last forty years, for the exports, including the Windward and Leeward Islands, amounted in 1872-3 to more than half a million more than they were in the year 1835, and though that was after the slave trade was abolished, it showed that they had not gone backwards. There could be no doubt there was a feeling a few years ago in respect of the Colonies which might be expressed in the words, "Shake them off, and cast them from you." The real reason, he believed, had never been stated, and although he did not wish to impute unworthy motives to anyone, he believed that what really had more to do with it than anything else was this, that when the great Colonies obtained self-government, and with it the appointment of all offices in the Colonies, Downing-street lost its patronage: there were no more berths for friends and relations, and that being the case, they began to ask themselves the question whether they could not get all they wanted out of the Colonies without incurring any expenditure for them. But there was no doubt the feeling had improved. The *Times*, which had long rather advocated that view, said, only a short time ago, that the idea of an Empire such as the world had never yet seen was one which, although it might never be realised, we should accustom ourselves to think of; while the other leading journal, published in Fleet-street, which was quite as good a reflex of public opinion, did not mince matters in the slightest degree, but said boldly:

"Shame to the dullards who desire
To quench our colonising fire,
To keep the imperial instinct down,
And make a fools' cap of the crown."

CONVERSAZIONE.

ON Friday, the 18th of June, the second Annual *Conversazione* of the Institute took place at the South Kensington Museum.

The great success of the first *Conversazione*, which was held at the Museum on Thursday, the 11th of June, 1874, was surpassed on this occasion. The number of fellows and their friends, as well as of the guests invited by the Council, who attended last year, was 584, and this year 789.

The stairs, corridors, and reception-room were lined with choice plants, and the picture-galleries of the Museum, which presented a very striking and brilliant appearance, were thrown open to the guests.

The Band of the Coldstream Guards, under the direction of Mr. Fred Godfrey, played a choice selection of music; and Mr. Winn's celebrated Glee Union sang a variety of songs during the evening.

Refreshments were served in the corridors.

Among the objects of interest which were exhibited may be mentioned the war-club of King Thakombau of Fiji, which was specially lent to the Institute by Her Majesty, and a large collection of beautiful Colonial views, &c., lent by Messrs. Chevalier, Edward Jenkins, M.P., Haliburton, Mundy, Dr. Pugh, and Mr. W. J. Birch, jun. The Union-jack belonging to the Institute, bearing the inscription, "The Queen and the United Empire," was suspended in a conspicuous position in one of the galleries.

The Company began to arrive at the Museum soon after nine o'clock, where they were received by the Council.

H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Streathearne, and H.R.H. Prince Christian honoured the *Conversazione* with their presence, as well as His Highness Seyyid Burghash bin Said, the Sultan of Zanzibar, now on a visit to England, accompanied by Seyyids Hammood bin Hamed and Nasir bin Said. The Rev. Dr. Badger, Dr. Kirk, and Mr. Clement Hill (of the Foreign Office) were in attendance on him.

The company also included the Duke and Duchess of Manchester, his Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, his Excellency Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.M.G. Governor of Victoria, Lady and Miss Bowen, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie,

Premier of Canada, the Hon. J. G. Francis, the Premier of Victoria, Lord Houghton, Lord Stanley of Alderley,

Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., Lady
and Miss Alcock
Mr. A. J. Adderley and lady
Mr. E. Alberga
Miss Allen
Mr. James Alexander and Mrs. Alexander
Mr. James Alexander, jun.
Miss Alexander
Mr. Anderson, jun.
Miss Anderson
Dr. Asherston (Cape of Good Hope)
Mr. C. E. Atkinson and lady
Mr. W. H. Atthill
Miss Ayrton

Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Badger
Mr. A. H. Barber
Miss Barber
Miss Barrow
Mr. Donald Baynes
Mr. W. Beaufort
Colonel Sir Thomas Gore Brown,
K.C.M.G.
Major-General J. Bissett, C.B. (Cape
of Good Hope)
Miss Bissett
Dr. and Miss Brace
H. A. Bowler, Esq., and lady
Mrs. Bedingfeld
Sir David Barclay, Bart., and Lady
Barclay
H. Beevor, Esq.
Matthew Begbie, Esq. (Chief Justice
of British Columbia)
W. Moore Bell, Esq. (Victoria)
Louis A. Benjamin, Esq.
Ralph Bensusan, Esq. (Cape of Good
Hope)
Mr. J. Bergtheil (Natal)
Mr. E. Carton Booth (Victoria)
Mr. W. J. Birch and lady (New
Zealand)
Mr. W. J. Birch, jun., and lady (New
Zealand)
Mr. A. N. Birch and lady (Straits
Settlements)
Mr., Mrs., and Miss Bisdee
Dr., Mrs., and Miss Black
Mr. G. Blakesley
Mr. and Mrs. Burn-Blyth
Mr. H. Bridge (New Zealand)
Mr. and Mrs. Bourgnignon
Mr. C. W. Bourne and lady
Mr. L. Bouwens
Miss Bouwens
Mr. T. Bouwens
Miss Bouwen

Mr. H. A. Bowler and lady
Miss Boucher
Mr. C. J. Bostock
Miss Briggs
Mr. William Brand
Colonel More Brabazon
Dr. Buchanan and Mrs. Buchanan
(New Zealand)
Mr. W. H. Burton and lady (South
Australia)
Mrs. Burleigh
Mrs. and Miss Burvett (New South
Wales)
Mr. R. Cadenhead and lady
Mr. J. A. Cameron and lady
Miss Carnack
Miss Calvert
Mr. F. W. and Mrs. Chesson
Right Hon. Hugh Childers, M.P.
Mrs. Chevalier
Mr. and Mrs. Charrington
Mr. Charrington, jun.
Mr. A. Charrington
Sir Charles Clifford, Knight (late of
New Zealand)
Mr. C. W. Creasy
Major-General J. A. Cole and lady
Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B.
Mr. T. C. Chown and lady
Mr. W. Cloete and lady (Cape)
Lady Cloete
Miss Cloete
Mr. Henry Cloete
Mr. J. B. Colthurst and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Sloper Cox
Miss E. A. Cox
Miss E. Cox
Sir Edward and Lady Creasy (late
Chief Justice of Ceylon)
The Misses Creasy (2)
Mr. Donald Currie
Mr. and Mrs. Hurrychund Chintamon
Mr. Cordes, M.P. (India)
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Clarke (Victoria)
Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Cork
Miss Cork
Mr. Crawford
Colonel and Mrs. Frank Chaplin
Mr. George A. J. Cumming
Mr. Crofton
Mr. and Mrs. H. Creswick (Victoria)
The Misses Creswick
Mr. W. Cronin
Miss Catherine Cuddy
Mr. and Mrs. David Crombie
Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney,
K.C.B., and Lady Daubeney

- Mr. F. G. Dalgety and Mrs.
 Mr. Stuart S. Davis (West Indies)
 The Misses Davis (2)
 Mr. T. Daniel
 Miss Daniel
 Mr. Dawes
 Mr. F. E. Dampier
 Miss Delmar
 Miss De Pilichit
 Captain Derriman, R. N., C.B., and
 Mrs. Derriman
 Mr. W. Deverell
 Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Dickinson
 The Misses Dickinson
 Baroness Dimsdale
 Miss Dimsdale
 Mr. and Mrs. W. Dorling
 Mr. R. K. Douglas
 Dr. and Mrs. Langdon-Downs
 Mr. T. Dougharty
 Mrs. Drysdale
 Mr. F. DuCroz and lady
 Hon. J. Dunn (Tasmania) and lady
 Mr. G. T. Duncombe
 Mrs. C. Dunkley
 Mrs. and Miss G. D. Drury

 Mr. Elderton
 Major D. Erskine and lady (Natal)
 Miss Evans

 Mr. J. Falenski
 Mr. James Farmer and lady (New
 Zealand)
 Mr. W. Fisher
 Miss E. Fisher
 Mr. and Mrs. P. Fitzgerald
 Mr. Philip Flower
 Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Flower
 Mr. James Forrest and lady (West
 Australia)
 Hon. Dudley and Mrs. Fortescue
 Mr. Charles Fraser
 Mr. H. W. Freeland
 Rev. T. E. Fuller (Agent-General for
 the Cape of Good Hope)
 Mrs. Fuller

 Mr. and Mrs. Gayunie
 Don Pascual de Gayangos
 Captain Douglas Galton, C.B., and
 lady
 Mrs. Giddy (South Africa)
 Miss Sarah Gilbert
 Mr. Gilbert
 Sir John Glover, G.C.M.G., and Miss
 Glover
 Mr. T. B. and Mrs. Glanville (Cape of
 Good Hope)
 Mr. and Mrs. Gooch
 Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Godson
 Miss Godson

 Mr. G. R. Godson
 Miss C. Godson
 Mr. and Mrs. Gordon.
 Mr., Mrs., and Miss J. Goolden
 M. and Madame Gosch
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
 Goulburn and Mrs. Thomas
 Mr. Francis Grant
 General Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B.,
 and Lady Grant
 Mr. and Mrs. T. Greene
 Mr. James Grierson
 Miss Grierson
 Mr. G. Darby Griffiths

 Major Harnett
 Miss Harkness
 Sir Robert Harvey, M.P.
 Lady and Miss Harvey
 Mr. and Mrs. W. Hall
 Mr. R. G. Haliburton (Nova Scotia)
 Mr. Hart
 General Hammond
 Mrs. Goodwin Hatchard
 Mr. Henry Hall
 Mrs. Hart
 Mr. and Mrs. Hartley
 Misses Hartley (2)
 Mr. H. B. Halswell and ladies
 Mrs. Hay
 Dr. and Mrs. Hector (New Zealand)
 Miss Hector
 Mr. and Miss R. G. W. Herbert (Under
 Secretary for the Colonies)
 Mr. and Mrs. William Henty (Tas-
 mania)
 Mr. and Mrs. Walter Henty
 Miss Henry
 Mr. Clement Hill
 Mr. Valentine Hill
 Mr. John Holmes, M.P.
 Mrs. Holmes
 Dr. Hooker, F.R.S.
 Mr. G. Hogg
 Mr. F. Hogg
 Miss Hogg
 Miss F. Hogg
 Mr. W. Hounsell
 Mr. Edward Hutchinson
 Mr. Vusuntias Hurrychund (India)
 The Venerable Archdeacon Hunter
 (Prince Rupert's Land)
 Mr. Hunter
 Mrs. Tilghman Huskisson
 Mr., Mrs., and Miss Hughes (South
 Australia)
 Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Hutton
 The Misses Hutton

 Mr. J. V. H. Irwin and lady
 Mr. H. M. Jackson, Q.C., M.P.
 Miss Jackson

Mr. Hugh Jamieson and lady (Victoria)
 Mr. T. B. Jamieson and lady (Victoria)
 Mr. R. Jardine
 The Misses Jardine (2)
 Mr. Andrew Jardine
 Miss James
 Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P. (Agent
 General for Canada)
 Mrs. Jenkins
 Mr. J. Chester Jervis and lady
 Mr. F. R. Jervis
 Mr. J. Jeremiah, jun.
 Rev. J. W. Jesson
 Mr. and Mrs. J. Rogers Jennings
 Mr. and Miss Johnston
 Rear-Admiral Jones and Mrs. Jones
 Mr. W. B. Jones
 Mrs. and Miss Jones
 Mr. and Mrs. Albert Jourdain
 Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Jourdain
 Mr. W. Job
 His Excellency Wooyeno Kagenoi
 (Japanese Ambassador)
 Mrs. and Miss Keighly
 Mrs. Kennedy
 Mr. Richard Kidner
 Mr. Arthur Kimber and Lady
 Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., and
 lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Kingston
 Mr. A. C. King
 Mrs. and Miss King
 Dr. Kirk, Consul-General at Zanzibar
 Mrs. Kirk
 Mr. Charles Knight
 Mr. William Knight and lady (Tas-
 mania)
 Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Labillière (Victoria)
 Major-General Lawrence, C.B., and
 Miss Lawrence
 Miss Lawrence
 Mr. W. Landell
 Captain Lawrence
 Miss Lamb
 Dr. Lawson
 Mr. P. G. Leeb and lady (South Africa)
 Miss Leeb
 Miss Legge
 Miss Annie Lennox
 Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Levin
 Rev. A. G. L'Estrange
 Mr. Edward J. Leveson and lady
 Rev. Mr. Light
 Miss Lowder
 Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Low (New Zealand)
 Mrs. Love
 Mr. and Miss Lyall

Mr. Macnamara
 Hon. D. MacPherson and Mrs. Mac
 Pherson (Canada)

The Misses MacPherson (Canada)
 Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell,
 K.C.M.G. and C.B., and Lady
 MacDonnell
 Mr. A. J. MacDonald and lady
 Mr. H. C. MacDonald and lady
 Mr. Joseph MacPherson and lady
 Mr. William Mathews and lady
 (West Indies)
 Mr. J. P. Marais
 Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.
 Mr. and Mrs. Sinclair MacLeay
 Dr. Manning
 Mr. and Mrs. Justin McCarthy
 Miss C. E. McCarthy
 Mrs. Bateson Maxwell
 Mr. and Mrs. McClulland
 Mr. McMaster
 Mr. Benson Maxwell
 Mr. F. S. S. Merewether and lady
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
 Melbourne and Mrs. Perry
 Mr. Graham Menzies and lady
 Mr. Miller
 Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, G.C.B.,
 and Lady Milne
 Hon. Miss Monckton Miles
 Mr. C. A. D. Miller
 Miss Mary Mitchell
 Dr. J. Milligan, F.R.S., &c. (Tas-
 mania)
 Mr. John Miller (Canada)
 Mr. R. W. Milne, F.R.S.
 Mr. G. Molineux
 Miss Molineux
 Mr. H. E. Montgomerie and lady
 Miss Edmonstone Montgomerie
 Mr. J. M. P. Montagu and lady
 Miss Montagu
 Captain Moresby, R.N.
 Miss Monger
 Mrs. Monger
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Morgan
 Mr. H. Morgan
 Miss A. Morgan
 Miss Murray
 Mr. P. H. Muntz, M.P.
 Mrs. and Miss Muntz
 Sir J. W. Clinton Murdoch, K.C.M.G.,
 and Lady Murdoch
 Rev. Dr. Mullens
 Mr. D. L. Mundy (New Zealand)
 Mr. Hugh Muir and lady

Mr. Damother Nana
 Mr. Nawa (Japan)
 Miss M. Nelson
 Mr. F. A. M. Nichol and lady
 Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., and Lady
 Nicholson (New South Wales)
 Mr. and Mrs. Nicholson
 Mr. B. Nicholson

Mrs. Nottingham
Mr. R. W. Nutt (Tasmania)

Mr. J. S. O'Halloran (South Australia)

Mr. and Mrs. Older
Mr. Oliver
The Misses Oliver
Mr. J. O'Neill
Mr. A. C. and Miss Onslow
Dr. and Mrs. Orde
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Otway

Mr. J. Paterson and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Myles Paterson
Mr. Palmer
Mr. A. H. Palmer
Miss Palmer
Mr. John Peter
Dr. and Mrs. Percy
Mrs. Pell

Captain and Mrs. Petrie

Dr. Pherson
Mr. Richard Philpott
Mr. C. J. Philpott
Mr. J. H. Phillips
Mrs. Pollock
Miss Pope

Mr. E. Porter
Mr. Richard Potter and Mrs.
The Misses Potter (2)
Dr. W. R. and Mrs. Pugh (Victoria)
Dr. L. Purves and Mrs. Purves
Mr. A. P. Purves
Mr. Wollaston F. Pym
Mr. Pyemonts

Mr. T. F. Quin
Mr. J. A. Quinton

Dr. Rae and Mrs.
Mrs. Ray
Mrs. F. Ray
Miss Ray
Mr. H. Ray
Mrs. Ray
Mr. Rawlings
Mrs. Raleigh
Mr. and Mrs. Bayne Ranken
Mrs. and Miss Ravenshaw
Miss Annie Ravenshaw.
Mrs. and Miss Rudston Read
Mr. N. Rudston Read
Miss Ada Read
Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A.
Mr. Richardson
Miss A. Riley
Mr. and Mrs. W. Ridley
Mr. Alexander Rivington
Hon. J. Robertson (New Brunswick)
Mr. Sydney Robjohns (Canada)
Mr. Lawford Rolph and lady

Sir J. Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G. (Canada)
Mr. Edward Rose
Miss Rose
Miss S. Rose
Miss Rose (Cape of Good Hope)
Mr. J. Rose
Mr. and Mrs. Russell Roberts
Mr. and Mrs. Rodger
Mrs. W. Percy Robinson
Hon. P. E. de Roubaix, M.L.C. (Cape of Good Hope)
Miss de Roubaix (Cape of Good Hope)
Mr. P. C. de Roubaix (Cape of Good Hope)
Mr. G. Grey Russell (New Zealand)
Mr. Thomas Russell (Australia)
Mr. T. Purvis Russell (New Zealand)

Mr. W. C. Sargeant, C.M.G. (Crown Agent for the Colonies)

Mr. J. Sanjo (Japan)
Mr. Sant, R.A., and Mrs. Sant
Mrs. Sabel

Mr. and Mrs. P. L. Sclater
Mr., Mrs., and Miss Seddon
Mr. Oscar Schmidt
Sir C. Farquhar Shand (Chief Justice of Mauritius)

Lady Shand
Mr. H. F. Shipster and lady (South Australia)

Captain Sharp
Mr. P. L. Simmons and lady
Hon. Donald A. Smith (M.P. Canada)
Mr. W. Smith (Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Canada)

Mr. Smithurst
His Excellency Baron Soloyns (Belgian Ambassador)

Mr. Allen Spowers and lady
Mr. F. Spire

Miss Stephens
Captain and Mrs. Stirling

Mr. L. C. Stevenson and lady
Mr. J. F. Stanford (Cape of Good Hope)

Mr. William Streathfield and lady
Mr. and Mrs. H. B. T. Strangways (South Australia)

Miss L. Stewart
Lady Stirling
Miss Stirling
Rev. C. F. Stovin and lady

Miss Julia Stevenson
Miss Stainland

Mr. and Mrs. Stein
Mr. J. W. Sutton
Mr. Charles Summer
The Misses Summer (3)

Mr. J. W. Sutton
Hon. J. Swart (State Secretary Transvaal Republic)

Mr. Andrew Swanzy and lady (West Africa)
Sir John Swinburne, Bart.

Mr. D. Tallerman
Mr. Lloyd Tayler
Mr. and Mrs. Tempest
Miss Amy Tempest
Mr. and Mrs. Templeton
Mr. James Thew
Mr. R. A. Thompson
Miss Thompson
Mr. P. F. Tidman and lady
Mr. George Tinline and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Tomkinson
The Misses Tomkinson (2)
Mr. Edmund Trimmer (New Zealand)
Mr. and Mrs. Tupper

Mr. Ferdinand Unna and lady

Mrs. Vaughan
Mrs. Edwin Vaughan
Dr. J. T. Veitch and Mrs. Veitch (Penang)
Mr. P. G. Vander Byl (Transvaal)
Mr., Mrs., and Miss Von Ronn (Cape)

Mr. William Walker (West Indies)
Mr. E. A. Wallace and lady
Mr. Thomas Watson and Lady (Cape of Good Hope)
Mr. H. E. Watts
Mr. Henry Wellings
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Western
The Misses Western (2)
Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Westgarth (Victoria)
Mrs. Webster
Miss Webster
Miss G. Webster
Mr. Edward Wilson (Victoria)
Mrs. Wilson

Miss Wilson
Miss Mary Wilson
Miss Anne Wilson
Miss Annie Wilson
Miss Charlotte Wilson
Miss Rose Wilson
Mr. Henry Wilson
Miss Eardley Wilmot
Mr. W. J. Williams and lady
Master A. C. Williams
Miss Williams
Mr. W. J. Winter
Mr. and Mrs. Montagu Williams
Dr. George Murray Webster
Mr. Richard White and lady (Cape)
Miss White
Mr. Dennistoun Wood and lady (Victoria)
Mr. Henry Wood
Mr. H. Wolff
Mr. and Miss A. Woods
Mr. Grosvenor Woods
Miss Worth
Mr. and Mrs. Woolmer
Mr. Cecil Wray
Mr. Leonard Wray (Straits Settlements)
Mr. Leonard Wray, Jun.
Captain Wyatt (Cape)

Mr. S. Yardley and lady
Mr. James A. Youl, C.M.G., and lady (Tasmania)
The Misses Youl (3)
Mr. C. J. Youl
Miss Yorke
Lady Fox Young and Miss Young
Mr. W. Martin Young
Mr. Adolphus W. Young, M.P.
Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.)
Miss Young
Mr. Arthur Lyttleton Young
Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Young

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Institute held its Seventh Annual Meeting at its Rooms, 15, Strand, on Wednesday afternoon, 30th June, 1875, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, President, in the chair.

Among the Fellows of the Institute present were—

Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B. ; Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G. and C.B. ; Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G. ; Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I. ; Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G. ; A. B. Abraham, Esq. ; H. W. Freeland, Esq. ; William Walker, Esq. ; G. R. Godson, Esq. ; P. G. Vander Byl, Esq. ; J. H. Irwin, Esq. ; Edmund Trimmer, Esq. ; H. J. Jourdain, Esq. ; F. P. Labillière, Esq. ; Leonard Wray, Esq. ; Steuart S. Davis, Esq. ; Henry Blaine, Esq. ; James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G. ; Jacob Montefiore, Esq. ; Hurryhund Chintamon, Esq. ; S. Constantine Burke, Esq. ; R. G. Haliburton, Esq. ; H. B. T. Strangways, Esq. ; W. C. Sargeant, Esq., C.M.G. ; E. Carton Booth, Esq. ; and the Honorary Secretary.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY read the notice convening the meeting which had been inserted in the *Times* and *Standard* newspapers.

THE PRESIDENT then nominated Mr. Steuart S. Davis and Mr. F. P. Labillière, Scrutineers, for taking the Ballot for the Council, under Rule 6, Cap. 5, of the Regulations.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting of the 30th June, 1874, were read and confirmed.

THE PRESIDENT then read the following Report of the Council for the past year, and moved its adoption, which was seconded by Mr. VANDER BYL, and carried :—

REPORT.

In presenting their Annual Report on the present occasion, the Council have to deplore the great loss the Institute has sustained by the death of their late Honorary Secretary, Mr. Eddy, who expired very suddenly while attending the Social Science Congress at Glasgow, on the 3rd of October last. By his untiring zeal, indomitable energy, and great ability, combined with a disposition of the utmost kindness and thoughtful consideration for everyone with whom he was brought into contact, he won the confidence and regard of every Fellow of the Institute, and gave an impulse

to its progress which was apparent in its rapidly-increasing influence and success during the period he held the office he so worthily and honourably filled.

Mr. Frederick Young, who has been long a member of the Council, has, since his death, undertaken the duties of Honorary Secretary in his place.

The Council have the pleasure to report that the favourable progress noticed in the last Report still continues to be made by the Institute. The number of Fellows elected during the past year has been 105, of whom 50 are resident and 55 non-resident.

The Hon. Treasurer's statements which will be presented with this Report show that the financial condition of the Institute is satisfactory.

Pursuing the same policy as hitherto, the Council have sought by every means in their power to give to questions of Imperial interest in connection with the Colonies an active and energetic support. Among the most prominent of those which have engaged their serious and particular attention may be mentioned the Fisheries of Newfoundland and the Island of New Guinea.

With regard to the former a Committee has been constituted for the purpose of collecting information and drawing up a report to the Council on this most important subject.

The rights of the two countries to the fisheries of this valuable Colony involving questions of such vital interest between England and France, this Committee have felt the necessity of their investigations into them being most carefully pursued; and this work has of necessity consumed a great deal of time. They have not yet completed their labours, but it is hoped that they will ere long present to the Council a report of much interest, and one which it may be expected will be of considerable value.

With regard to New Guinea, the Council felt the paramount necessity of urging our Government to initiate prompt steps for taking possession, without delay, of the eastern part of this valuable island. This they were induced to do from the fact of the rapidly-increasing British commerce through Torres Straits, and also the further fact that Captain Moresby, of H.M.S. *Basilisk*, had recently discovered a new passage on the Eastern shores of New Guinea, where he had already planted the British flag. By this passage a saving of 800 miles will be effected between Australia and China, rendering it certain, therefore, to become the track for the future commerce of this part of the world.

With this view they organised a most influential and representative deputation, which waited on Lord Carnarvon on the 29th of

April last, and presented a memorial to him, setting forth at length the reasons for their desiring the Government to adopt the policy they so strongly recommended. The result of this interview with the Colonial Minister was, they consider, very satisfactory; and they have reason to hope, from information since received of the desire felt in Australia that this annexation should take place, that it may ere long be effected. Should this be the case, the Royal Colonial Institute will have reason to congratulate itself on having taken so vigorous and timely an initiative in a question of such great and Imperial importance, more especially as affecting so vitally as it does the interests of the Australian portion of the Empire.

The Papers read during the Session have been of the greatest interest, and the attendances at many of the ordinary Meetings of the Fellows of the Institute and their friends, including a large number of ladies, have been greater than at any time previously.

The Papers comprise—

1. What are the best Means of drawing together the Interests of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and of strengthening the Bonds of Union. By the late C. W. Eddy, Esq.

2. The Permanent Unity of the Empire. By F. P. Labillière, Esq.

3. Fiji, Past and Present. By F. W. Chesson, Esq.

4. New Guinea. By A. Michie, Esq., Agent-General for Victoria.

5. South Africa. By T. B. Glanville, Esq., late M.L.A. of the Cape of Good Hope.

6. American Protection and Canadian Reciprocity. By R. G. Haliburton, Esq.

7. Forty Years Since, and Now. By H. B. T. Strangways, late Attorney-General of South Australia.

These will be very shortly published and distributed amongst the Fellows.

The Council have to acknowledge, with thanks to the Donors, that valuable donations of books, papers, and specimens of Colonial produce continue to be presented to the Institute.

The Second *Conversazione* given by the Institute was held at the South Kensington Museum, on Friday, the 18th inst.

The anticipations derived from the great and marked success attending the *Conversazione* held last year have been fully realised, and the Council feel sure that a *réunion* of this character, while it is very pleasant to the Fellows and their friends, is also most useful in keeping up the sentiment, to which they attach so much

importance, of promoting friendly intercourse and good feeling among those who are connected with the various portions of our widely-scattered but magnificent Colonial Empire.

In conclusion, the Council assure the Fellows that it is their desire to continue energetically to promote the great principle of the "Unity of the Empire," the keystone of the policy which they advocate, as being in their opinion the best bond of its permanent security, and of its power and influence among the other nations of the world.

By Order,

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Hon. Sec.

June, 1875.

LIST OF DONORS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| His Grace the Duke of Manchester. | F. E. Gautier, Esq., Ottawa. |
| The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies. | Alexander Heatherington, Esq., Nova Scotia. |
| Lord Alfred S. Churchill. | Hyde Clark, Esq. |
| Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Governor of the Cape. | E. Carton Booth, Esq. |
| Major-General J. Amber Cole. | J. H. Stockqueler, Esq. |
| Dr. Hooker, F.R.S. | Alexander Rivington, Esq. |
| G. P. Moodie, Esq. | J. V. H. Irwin, Esq. |
| Major-General Collinson. | T. Twining, Esq. |
| Hon. P. E. de Roubaix (M.L.C., Cape of Good Hope). | Saxe Bannister, Esq. |
| Edwin Gilpin, Esq., M.A., Nova Scotia. | T. C. Just, Esq., Tasmania. |
| The late C. W. Eddy, Esq. | Henry Lowcock, Esq., Hong Kong. |
| Abraham Hyams, Esq., Jamaica. | S. B. Lloyd, Esq., New South Wales. |
| Gisborne Molineux, Esq. | G. R. Godson, Esq. |
| James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G. | R. M. Ross, Esq., Cape Town. |
| Major White, Secretary General Post Office of Canada. | Samuel Keefer, Esq., C.E. (Canada) |
| Right Hon. W. H. Gregory, Governor of Ceylon. | The Editor of the <i>Diplomatic Review</i> . |
| N. Darnell Davis, Esq., Civil Commandant, Sherbro', West Africa. | Dr. Lauder Lindsay. |
| H. J. Jourdain, Esq. | The Royal United Service Institution. |
| Colonel Palmer. | „ East India Association. |
| Colonel Alcock. | „ Victoria Institute. |
| Hon. R. W. Scott (Ottawa) | „ National Gallery of Melbourne. |
| Hon. W. Annand (Nova Scotia) | „ Canadian Institute. |
| Charles FitzGerald, Esq., Ottawa. | „ Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. |
| G. P. Wheeler, Esq. | „ Royal Society of Tasmania. |
| H. W. Freeland, Esq. | „ Committee of Correspondence of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana. |
| J. Roland Hett, Esq., British Columbia. | The Governments of— |
| F. W. Cheason, Esq. | The Dominion of Canada. |
| Frederick Young, Esq. | New Zealand. |
| R. G. Haliburton, Esq. | Tasmania. |
| Hugh Munro Hull, Esq., Tasmania. | Ontario. |
| Benjamin Clark, Esq. | British Guiana. |
| William Walker, Esq. | New South Wales. |
| A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq. | British Columbia. |
| W. T. McCulloch Torrens, Esq., M.P. | The Agent-General for Victoria. |
| Messrs. Adam Stevenson and Co., Toronto. | „ „ New South Wales. |
| A. R. Roche, Esq. | „ „ New Zealand. |
| | „ „ Natal. |
| | „ „ Canada. |
| | „ „ British Columbia. |

The Crown Agents for the Colonies.
Melbourne Chamber of Commerce.
Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.
Botanic Gardens, Adelaide.

The Proprietors of the—
Colonies.
European Mail.
Broad Arrow.
Argus and Australasian.
Sydney Morning Herald.
Hobart Town Mercury.
Natal Mercury.
Otago Guardian (Dunedin).
Southern Cross (Dunedin).

The Proprietors of the—
Toronto Mail.
„ Nation.
Volunteer Review (Ottawa).
Montreal Witness.
Weekly British Colonist (British
Columbia).
Nassau Times.
Royal Gazette (Demerara).
Colonist (Demerara).
Demerara Times.
Labour News.
&c. &c. &c.

The HONORARY TREASURER (Mr. Sargeaunt) laid before the Meeting a statement of receipts and payments for the year ending the 11th June, showing a balance in hand of £518 2s. 8d.

It was moved by Mr. FREELAND, seconded by Mr. STRANGWAYS, and carried unanimously, that the cordial thanks of the Fellows be given to His Grace the Duke of Manchester for the ability and uniform courtesy with which he had filled the office of President during the past two years, and for the active interest he takes in the progress of the Institute.

It was moved by Mr. YOUL, seconded by Mr. SARGEAUNT, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Frederick Young for his readiness in accepting the arduous and responsible office of Honorary Secretary of this Institute, and for the able and zealous manner in which he has discharged the duties of that office.

It was moved by Mr. YOUNG, the Honorary Secretary, seconded by Sir GEORGE MACLEAY, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. F. P. Labillière for the assistance he has rendered to him during the past year, since he undertook to supply the place of the late Mr. Eddy.

It was moved by Sir ROBERT TORRENS, seconded by Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. W. C. Sargeaunt, Honorary Treasurer.

The question of establishing a Colonial Museum was brought before the Meeting by Mr. IRWIN. His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, Messrs. F. W. CHESSEON, H. W. FREELAND, G. R. GODSON, J. A. YOUL, H. E. MONTGOMERIE, LEONARD WRAY, H. B. T. STRANGWAYS, F. P. LABILLIÈRE, and the HONORARY SECRETARY, having taken part in the discussion, the following motion, proposed by Mr. FREELAND, and seconded by Mr. CHESSEON, was submitted to the Meeting, that the Council be requested to communicate with the Governments of the various Colonies and the English Government, with the view to the extension to the Colonies of the scheme mentioned by Mr.

Chesson, as contemplated by the India Office and the Associated Chambers of Commerce. The motion was rejected on being put to the vote, there appearing for it two votes against twelve.

It was moved by Mr. STRANGWAYS, seconded by Mr. LEONARD WRAY, and resolved, that the Council be requested to consider the best means of forming a Colonial Museum in connection with this Institute, and communicate with the Colonial Governments and ascertain if they would contribute to the cost of such Museum.

The Scrutineers appointed to take the Ballot having made their report, the following noblemen and gentlemen were chosen as the Council, &c. for the ensuing year :—

PRESIDENT.

His Grace the Duke of Manchester.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, K.G.	The Right Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., C.B., M.P.
His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T.	The Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.	The Right Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Granville, K.G.	The Right Hon. Lord Lisgar, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
The Right Hon. Viscount Bury, K.G.M.G.	The Right Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G.
The Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.	Edward Wilson, Esq.

COUNCILLORS.

Charles Barter, Esq.	Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.
Henry Blaine, Esq.	Gisborne Molineux, Esq.
Sir Charles Clifford.	Jacob Montefiore, Esq.
Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B.	H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.
F. S. Dutton, Esq., C.M.G.	Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.
H. W. Freeland, Esq.	Alexander Rivington, Esq.
R. G. Haliburton, Esq.	A. R. Roche, Esq.
A. R. Campbell Johnston, Esq.	S. W. Silver, Esq.
H. J. Jourdain, Esq.	Sir R. R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.
F. P. Labilliere, Esq.	William Walker, Esq.
Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B.	Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I., C.B.
	Leonard Wray, Esq.
	James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.

TRUSTEES.

Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.	Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.
	James Searight, Esq.

HON. TREASURER.

W. C. Sargeant, Esq., C.M.G.

HON. SECRETARY.

Frederick Young, Esq.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding on the occasion.

GENERAL INDEX.

- Abraham, Augustus B., 25, 26, 73, 74,
 76, 241, 262
 Adam, Steveson & Co., 265
 Alcock, Colonel, 265
 American Protection and Canadian
 Reciprocity, 205
 Annual General Meeting, 262
 Annand, Hon. W., 265
 Argyll, His Grace the Duke of, K.T., a
 Vice-President, 267
 Badenoch, Rev. Dr. G. R., 26, 31
 Badger, Rev. Dr.
 Balfour, Sir George, K.C.B., M.P.,
 189
 Bannister, Saxe, 265
 Barkly, H.E. Sir Henry, K.C.B.,
 K.C.M.G., 265
 Barter, Hon. Charles, 182, 188
 — Member of Council, 267
 Beaumont, J., 66, 220
 Bergtheil, J., 176
 Berkeley, T. B. H., 246
 Birch, W. J. (jun.), 189, 256
 Bissett, Major-General J., C.B., 171
 Blaine, Henry, 189, 262
 — Member of Council, 267
 Booth, E. C., 262, 265
 Bowen, H.E. Sir George, G.C.M.G.,
 120, 142, 256
 Brodribb, W. A., 189
 Brown, J. B., 26, 33, 58
 Buchanan, Dr., 245
 Bunyan, C. J., 183, 184, 187, 188
 Burke, S. Constantine, 247, 262
 Bury, Right Hon. Viscount, a Vice-
 President, 267
 Byl, G. P. Vander, 262
 Campbell, Sir George, 76, 79
 Carlingford, Right Hon. Lord, a Vice-
 President, 267
 Carnarvon, Right Hon. the Earl of,
 200
 — a Vice-President, 267
 — Secretary of State for
 the Colonies, 265
 Carpenter, Major C., R.A., 189
 Cave, Right Hon. Stephen, M.P., a
 Vice-President, 267
 Chesson, F. W., 89, 113, 118, 190, 265,
 266
 Chevalier, N., 256
 Chintamon, Hurrychund, 262
 Christian, H.R.H. the Prince, K.G.,
 256
 — a Vice-President, 267
 Churchill, Lord Alfred, 265
 Clark, B., 265
 Clark, Hyde, 190, 200, 265
 Clifford, Sir Charles, 189, 194
 — Member of Council, 267
 Cogswell, Dr., 225
 Cole, Major-General J. A., 265
 Collinson, Major-General, 265
 Connaught, H.R.H. the Duke of
 K.G., 256
 Connolly, Thomas, 34
 Conversazione, 256
 Dalgety, F. G., 190, 199
 D'Almeida, W. B., 149
 Daubeney, Major-Gen. Sir H. C. B.,
 K.C.B., 262
 — Member of Council, 267
 Davis, N. Darnell, 265
 Davis, Steuart S., 189, 262
 De Roubaix, Hon. P. E., 178, 265
 DuCane, Charles, 87
 Duddell, George, 189
 Dufferin, H.E. the Earl of, K.P., 256
 Dutton, F. S., C.M.G., Member of
 Council, 267
 Eddy, C. W., 1, 3, 36, 265
 Elder, A. L., 190
 Fergusson, Right Hon. Sir James
 Bart., K.C.M.G., 86, 110, 153, 189,
 197
 Fiji Past and Present, 89
 Fitzgerald, Charles, 189, 265
 Forty Years Since, and Now, 228
 Fowler, R. N., 105, 182, 190
 Francis, Hon. J. G., 267
 Freeland, H. W., 4, 5, 34, 74, 85, 189,
 226, 262, 265, 266
 — Chairman of Meetings,
 58, 205
 — Member of Council, 267

Gautier, F. E., 265
 Gilpin, Edwin, 265
 Glanville, T. B., 155, 186, 187, 188, 189
 Godson, G. R., 58, 219, 262, 265, 266
 Gordon, H.E. Sir Arthur, K.C.M.G., 86, 114
 Granville, Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., a Vice-President, 267
 Great Britain and New Guinea, 121, 262
 Gregory, Right Hon. W. H., 265
 Haliburton, R. G., 29, 80, 114, 189, 196, 205, 226, 239, 251, 256, 262, 265
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Hamilton, Archibald, 49
 Hammood bin Hamed, Seyyid, 256
 Hardy, Right Hon. Gathorne, M.P., a Vice-President, 267
 Harrington, T. M., 190
 Harvey, John, 190, 198
 Heatherington, Alexander, 265
 Hett, J. Roland, 265
 Hill, Clement, 256
 Hooker, Dr., F.R.S., 265
 Houghton, Lord, 257
 Hull, Hugh Munro, 265
 Hyams, Abraham, 265
 Irwin, J. V. H., 262, 265, 266
 Jencken, H. D., 179
 Jenkins, Edward, M.P., 108
 Johnston, A. R. Campbell, 265
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Jourdain, H. J., 53, 189, 262, 265
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Just, T. C., 265
 Keefer, Samuel, 265
 Kimber, Henry, 113
 Kinnaird, Hon. Arthur, M.P., 112, 151, 189, 204
 ——— a Trustee, 267
 Kirk, Dr., 256
 Labillière, F. P., 36, 76, 82, 145, 189, 198, 223, 240, 262, 266
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Larnach, Donald, 190
 Lasgar, Right Hon. Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., a Vice-President, 267
 Lindsay, Dr. Lauder, 265
 Lloyd, S. B., 265
 Lowcock, Henry, 265
 McArthur, Alderman, M.P., 189, 194
 MacDonnell, Sir Richard Graves, K.C.M.G. and C.B., 189, 249, 262
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Mackenzie, Hon. Alexander, 256
 MacLeay, Sir George, K.C.M.G., 189, 262, 266
 ——— Member of Council, 267

MacPherson, Hon. D., 257
 Manchester, His Grace the Duke of, 86, 87, 117, 121, 152, 184, 189, 190, 191, 204, 253, 256, 265, 266
 ——— Chairman of Meetings, 86, 120, 155, 228, 262
 ——— re-elected as President, 267
 Michie, A., 51, 116, 121, 153
 Minton, E. H., 189, 197
 Molineux, Gisborne, 189, 265
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Monck, Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President, 267
 Montefiore, Jacob, 189, 252, 262
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Montgomerie, H. E., 26, 189, 252, 266
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Moodie, G. P., 265
 Moresby, Captain, R.N., 140
 Mullens, Rev. Dr., 144
 Mundy, D. L., 256
 Nasir bin Said, Seyyid, 256
 New Guinea Deputation, 189
 Nicholson, Sir Charles, Bart., 189, 195
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Northcote, Sir Stafford H., C.B., M.P., a Vice-President, 267
 Palmer, Colonel, 265
 Permanent Unity of the Empire, 36
 Perry, Right Rev. Dr. (Bishop of Melbourne), 110
 Prance, R. H., 113
 Pugh, Dr., 256
 Rivington, Alexander, 265
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Roche, A. R., 265
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Rose, Sir John, Bart., K.C.M.G., a Trustee, 267
 Ross, R. M., 265
 Rusden, G. W., 26
 Russell, H. C., 244
 Russell, T. Purvis, 189
 Sargeaunt, W. C., C.M.G., 175, 262, 266
 ——— Honorary Treasurer, 267
 Saunders, Trelawny, 57
 Scott, Hon. R. W., 265
 Scott, Mr., 189
 Searight, James, a Trustee, 267
 Seyyid, Barghash bin Said, H. H., Sultan of Zanzibar, 256
 Sheriff, W. Musgrave, 243
 Silver, S. W., 189
 ——— Member of Council, 267
 Smith, Bruce, 225
 South Africa, 155
 Stanley of Alderley, Lord, 189, 257

Stirling, Sir Charles, Bart., 189
 Stockqueler, J. H., 265
 Strangways, H. B. T., 56, 189, 199,
 228, 254, 262, 266, 267
 Sturge, Edmund, 190
 Syngé, Major-General Millington H.,
 65, 73

Taylor, Hugh L., 189
 Tidman, P. F., 189, 199
 Tobin, James, 217
 Torrens, Sir Robert, K.C.M.G., 32,
 36, 70, 73, 262, 266

———— Chairman of Meetings,
 36

———— Member of Council, 267
 Torrens, W. T. McCulloch, M.P., 189,
 265

Trimmer, Edmund, 262
 Twining, Thomas, 265

Walker, William, 262, 265
 ———— Member of Council, 267
 Westgarth, William, 49

Westlake, Mr., Q.C., 180
 What are the Best Means of drawing
 together the Interests of the United
 Kingdom and the Colonies, and of
 strengthening the Bonds of Union?
 5

Wheeler, G. P., 265
 White, Major William, 265
 Wilson, Edward, 148

———— a Vice-President, 267
 Wingfield, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., 107,
 262, 266

———— Member of Council, 267
 Wood, J. D., 54

Wray, Leonard, 189, 262, 266, 267
 ———— Member of Council, 267

Youl, James A., C.M.G., 3, 26, 34, 179,
 189, 262, 265, 266

———— Chairman of Meetings, 3
 ———— Member of Council, 267

Young, Frederick, 3, 4, 35, 61, 115, 189,
 191, 193, 222, 241, 262, 265, 266
 ———— Honorary Secretary, 267

INDEX OF DONORS.

- Alcock, Col. T. St. L., 265
 Adams, Stevenson & Co., 265
 Annand, Hon. W., 265

 Bannister, Saxe, 265
 Barkly, Sir Henry, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., 265
 Booth, E. Carton, 265
 Chesson, F. W., 265
 Churchill, Lord A. S., 265
 Clark, Benjamin, 265
 Clark, Hyde, 265
 Cole, Maj.-Gen. J. Amber, 265
 Collinson, Major-General, 265

 Davis, N. Darnell, 265
 De Roubaix, Hon. P. E., 265

 Eddy, C. W., 265

 FitzGerald, Charles, 265
 Freeland, H. W., 265

 Gautier, F. E., 265
 Gilpin, Edwin, 265
 Godson, G. R., 265
 Gregory, Rt. Hon. W. H., 265

 Haliburton, R. G., 265
 Heatherington, Alexander, 265
 Hett, J. Roland, 265
 Hooker, Dr., F.R.S., 265
 Hull, Hugh Munro, 265
 Hyams, Abraham, 265

 Irwin, J. V. H., 265

 Johnston, A. R. Campbell, 265
 Jourdain, H. J., 265
 Just, T. C., 265

 Keefer, Samuel, 265

 Lindsay, Dr. Lauder, 265
 Lloyd, S. B., 265
 Lowcock, Henry, 265

 Manchester, Duke of, 265
 Molineux, Gisborne, 265
 Moodie, G. P., 265

 Palmer, Colonel, 265
 Rivington, Alexander, 265

 Roche, A. R., 265
 Ross, R. M., 265

 Scott, Hon. R. W., 265
 Stockqueler, J. H., 265

 The Agent-General for Canada, 265
 _____ British Columbia, 265
 _____ Natal, 265
 _____ New South Wales, 265
 _____ New Zealand, 265
 _____ Victoria, 265
 The Botanic Gardens, Adelaide, 265
 ,, Canadian Institute, 265
 ,, Cape Town Chamber of Commerce
 ,, Committee of Correspondence of
 the Royal Agricultural and
 Commercial Society of British
 Guiana, 265
 ,, Crown Agents for the Colonies, 266
 ,, East India Association, 265
 ,, Editor of the *Diplomatic Review*,
 265
 The Government of British Columbia,
 265
 _____ British Guiana, 265
 _____ the Dominion of Canada,
 265
 _____ New South Wales, 265
 _____ New Zealand, 265
 _____ Ontario, 265
 _____ Tasmania, 265
 The Literary and Historical Society of
 Quebec, 265
 The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce,
 265
 The National Gallery of Melbourne,
 265
 The Proprietors of various Newspapers,
 265
 The Royal Society of Tasmania, 265
 The Royal United Service Institution,
 265
 The Secretary of State for the Colonies,
 265
 The Victoria Institute, 265
 Torrens, W. T. McCulloch, M.P., 265
 Twining, Thomas, 265

 Walker, William, 265
 Wheeler, G. P., 265
 White, Major William, 265

 Youl, James A. C. M. G., 265
 Young, Frederick, 265

INDEX OF SPEAKERS.

(a) Authors and Readers of Papers.

Chesson, F. W., 89
 Eddy, C. W., 5
 Freeland, H. W., 5
 Glanville, T. B., 155

Haliburton, R. G., 205
 Labillière, F. P., 36
 Michie, A., 121
 Strangways, H. B. T., 228

(b) Discussors.

Abraham, Augustus B., 25, 26, 73, 74,
 76, 241

Badenoch, Rev. Dr. G. R., 26, 31
 Barter, Hon. Charles, 182, 188

Beaumont, J., 60, 220

Bergtheil, J., 176

Berkeley, T. B. H., 246

Bissett, Major-Gen. J., C.B., 171

Bowen, H.E. Sir George, G.C.M.G.,
 120, 142

Brown, J. B., 26, 33, 58

Buchanan, Dr., 245

Bunyan, C. J., 183, 184, 187, 188

Burke, S. Constantine, 247

Campbell, Sir George, 76, 79

Carnarvon, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, 200

Chesson, F. W., 89, 113, 118, 266

Clark, Hyde, 200

Clifford, Sir Charles, 194

Cogswell, Dr., 225

Connolly, Thomas, 34

Dalgety, F. G., 199

De Almeida, W. B., 149

De Roubaix, Hon. P. E., 178

DuCane, Charles, 87

Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir James, Bart.
 K.C.M.G., 86, 110, 153, 197

Fowler, R. N., 105, 182

Freeland, H. W., 4, 5, 34, 74, 85, 226,
 266

Glanville, T. B., 155, 186, 187, 188

Godson, G. R., 58, 219

Gordon, H.E. Sir Arthur, K.C.M.G.,
 86, 114, 266

Haliburton, R. G., 29, 80, 114, 196, 205,
 226, 239, 251

Hamilton, Archibald, 49

Harvey, John, 198

Irwin, J. V. H., 266

Jencken, H. D., 179

Jenkins, Edward, M.P., 808

Jourdain, H. J., 53

Kimber, Henry, 113

Kinnaird, Hon. Arthur, M.P., 112,
 151, 204

Labillière, F. P., 36, 76, 82, 145, 198,
 223, 240, 266

McArthur, Alderman, 194

MacDonnell, Sir Richard Graves,
 K.C.M.G., and C.B., 249

MacLeay, Sir George, 266

Manchester, Duke of, 86, 87, 117, 121,
 152, 184, 190, 191, 204, 253, 266

Michie, A., 51, 116, 121, 153

Minton, Mr., 197

Montefiore, Jacob, 252

Montgomerie, H. E., 26, 252, 266

Moresby, Captain, R.N., 140

Mullens, Rev. Dr., 144

Nicholson, Sir Charles, 195

Perry, Rt. Rev. Dr., 110

Prance, R. H., 113

Rusden, G. W., 26

Russell, H. C., 224

Sargeant, W. C., C.M.G., 175, 266

Saunders, Trelawny, 57

Sheriff, W. Musgrave, 243

Smith, Bruce, 225

Strangways, H. B. T., 56, 199, 228,
 254, 266, 267

Synge, Major-Gen. Millington, 65, 73

Tidman, P. F., 199

Tobin, James, 217

Torrans, Sir Robert, K.C.M.G., 32,
 36, 70, 73, 79, 266

Westgarth, William, 49

Westlake, Mr., Q.C., 180

Wilson, Edward, 148

Wingfield, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., 107,
 266

Wood, J. D., 54

Wray, Leonard, 266, 267

Youl, James A., C.M.G., 3, 26, 34,
 179, 266

Young, Frederick, 3, 4, 35, 36, 61,
 115, 188, 191, 193, 222, 241, 266

JUN 16 1937

